NEGOTIATING INFORMAL URBAN SPACES

Female Cake Vendors at the *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* Night Market in Jakarta, Indonesia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research concentrates on the urban phenomenon of a long-lasting informal wholesale cake market in the Southeast Asian megacity Jakarta, Indonesia. At this *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* (PKS) cake market alone, 600 vendors utilize contested outdoor parking space of a strategically located commercial centre every night. Among the economic interplay of different actors, the research places special emphasis on the group of female vendors and how spatial, social, economic and institutional determinants affect their consolidation efforts. The research design takes the social-scientific approach of the relational nature of space into account and reveals that the relational arrangement of objects and people taking place at the cake market features a static condition: PKS vendors avoid the change of selling positions and show a long-term orientation. The allotment of selling positions is largely beyond one's own preferences and follows common rules and procedures, though is not steered by institutions or middlemen exercising gate-keeping functions. The analyses of quantitative and qualitative data collection have shown that neither female wholesalers nor other vendor groups are marginalized when trying to access a selling space at the PKS. Female cake vendors can achieve a stable net income and gain appreciation among their social networks for enhancing the social advancement of their families. As producers and traders, women cope with a highly competitive food market and an immense work load while skilfully developing diversification strategies and establishing long-term customer relationships. Empirical evidence suggests that PKS business women, interacting with customers in the public realm of the urban night market, do not contradict long engrained gender roles as long as they are not too young and not selling alone. On the contrary, the PKS offers opportunities for women to experience the role of a salesperson, diminishing the importance of gender and social background. However, even though the professionalization of kitchen work helps to lower women's threshold for self-employment, male vendors are far more common at the PKS. Comprising just 20% of all vendors,

the low share of female vendors indicates that income generating activities at the PKS wholesale market are not as attractive for women's informal self-employment as usually known for the urban informal retail and street food sector in Indonesia. Nonetheless, there is strong evidence that a larger share of women is involved in the production of cake for the predominantly male PKS vendors (for example female suppliers, employees, or family workers). Big wholesalers, primarily coming from outside of Jakarta, could emerge as a challenge for the spatial and social structure of the market. With regard to the preservation of the PKS, the land-use right construct stipulates the PKS as only a temporary location for street vendors and is subsequently extended after a 2-year period again and again. This 'permanent temporariness', in combination with the redevelopment plans for the entire Senen Market area, leaves the cake market's continuance in suspense and counteracts vendors' consolidation efforts. It is under these circumstances that the research reasons to introduce constructs that will contribute to the on-site preservation of the PKS and thus translate the economic and social importance of the informal market into the realm of urban spatial planning policies.

AUTHORS AND ADVISORS

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

DKI	*Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta* (Jakarta Special Capital Territory)
IE	Informal economy
ILO	International Labour Organization
JMA	Jakarta Metropolitan Region
ORMAS	*Organisasi Kemasyaratkatan* (community organisation)
PKL	*Pedagang Kaki Lima* (street vendors)
PKS	*Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* (wholesale cake market at Senen Market)
PPKSS	*Persatuan Pedangang Kue Subuh Senen* (vendors association at the PKS)
Rp	Indonesian rupiah
UDGL	Urban Design Guidelines
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
€	Euro

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INTRODUCTION
1.

In many megacities in Southeast Asia and the Global South, open spaces are occupied by street vendors and informal markets. In Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, street vendors are a long-lasting, widespread urban phenomenon, "often seen as eyesores and undesirable activities" (Rukmana 2007). The estimated 300,000 street vendors (The Jakarta Post 2012b) play a distinct economic role; it has been calculated that Jakarta's street vendors can earn a combined total of Rp 13 trillion (€ 1.07 billion) per year (MercyCorps 2008, 4). Street vendors constitute a conspicuous segment of both the urban informal sector and "urban informality" in a more comprehensive sense (Roy 2005). Urban informality has become so much a part of many societies in the Global South that is no longer considered residual and transitory but "now seen as a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization" (Roy 2005, 147). Hence, the phenomenon of street vendors in Jakarta serves as a good example to reveal several aspects of this mode. One of the main problems that arise in connection with street vendors is the lack of urban spaces for their activities. Therefore, this research concentrates on the particular relevance of spatiality - on contested urban spaces for informal markets - by taking a closer look at the provision of space: the organisation of, the access to, and the allocation of space. When dealing with spatiality, the theoretical framework of "relational space" (Löw 2001) is consulted. This social-science related concept defines space, and also space used by urban informal markets, as the result of a relational arrangement of objects and people in the specific location (see detailed in section 1.2. below). In addition to a spatial focus, the research looks in particular at the group of female vendors and how the consolidation of their businesses by positioning at informal markets exhibits gender differences. The gendered approach is justified since informal employment is more common among female employment in Indonesia (ILO 2012, 53) and female informal employment remarkably concentrates on the wholesale and retail trade sector in urban areas (van Klaveren et al. 2010, 67; World Bank 2010, 54).

A **Senen is the name of an inner city district in Jakarta, accommodating the Senen Market (*Pasar Senen*) (see also Chapter 3.).**

A review of the scientific discourse on urban informality in Indonesia and beyond reveals a research gap when looking at the relationship of gender and urban space with street trading and informal markets. In the past, the main stream research on spatial concerns of the "street economy'" in Indonesian cities (Bijlmer 1985, McGee/Yeung 1977, Sidi 1991, Purnomo/Sardiyarso 1996, Purnomo 1998, Dwimawanti/Fathurrohman 2004) did not pay attention to gender differences. And, while more recent studies on street vendors in Indonesia indeed observe gender differences (Tinker 1997, Kortschak/Estay 2008), they do so without specifically taking into account the relationship between gender and the appropriation of space. However, Murray's study of street traders in Jakarta (1991) is an outstanding example of gender-specific spatial issues in informal trade. But whereas Murray addressed street-trading women in streets and alleys of an urban neighbourhood, this research project focuses on informal wholesale vendors; a group of actors commonly perceived as economic heavyweights that so far have been left widely unnoticed by informality studies (Keck 2012, 125).

1.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

- Research objective

This research aims at gaining insight into the gendered access of informal wholesalers to contested market space in Jakarta, and how the vendors manage to consolidate.

- Specification

The research draws on the case of the temporary wholesale cake market *Pasar Kue Subuh*, (PKS) occupying centrally located land and managed by the operators of the Senen (A) Market shopping complex (*Pasar Senen*). Approximately 600 vendors are tolerated to utilize the outdoor motorcycle parking area every night.

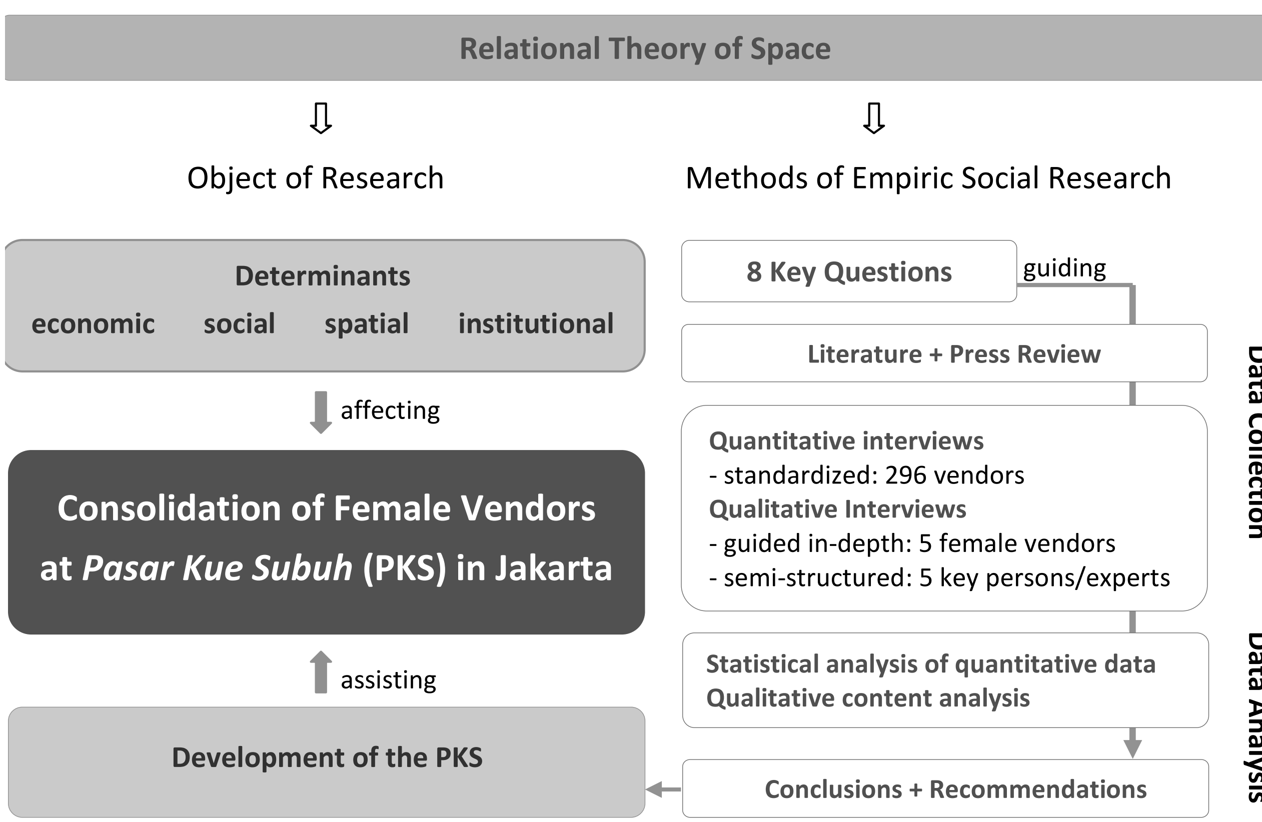
- Research question

By focusing on the PKS cake wholesale market in Jakarta, the research design provides empirical evidence to respond to the research question:
How do spatial, social, economic, and institutional determinants affect the consolidation of female vendors at the informal wholesale market in Jakarta?

- Key questions guiding the data collection and analysis

According to the assumption that basically four categories of determinants (economic, social, spatial, and institutional) affect female vendors' consolidation, consequently 8 key questions have

1 Research design



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been developed to structure and guide the data collection and analysis:

Economic determinants:
- Why do populations in Jakarta, and women in particular, have to self-employ in informal (food) vending?
- How do female vendors make their economic livelihood at the cake wholesale market?

Social determinants:
- What are the attributes of PKS vendors who achieve consolidation at the cake market?
- How do gender roles and social class affect female vendors' access and positioning at the cake market?

Spatial determinants:
- How do vendors position themselves on the market space?
- How do female vendors cope with locational qualities and facilities of the cake market?

Institutional determinants:
- How, and by whom, is the allocation of space negotiated, legitimated and ensured?
- How can urban governance assist in the consolidation process of informal vendors?

1.2. RELATIONAL THEORY OF SPACE

The rediscovery of the spatial in the social sciences within the last 10 to 15 years is a paradigmatic shift that has been retrospectively labelled the "spatial turn" (Berking, 2010; Döring, 2010; Döring/Thielmann, 2008; Lossau, 2012). Before that, space was not considered to be a matter of sociology since it was conceptualised to act as a container, simply "enclosing" social action with no interaction between agency and structure (Löw, 2001). The explanatory potential of a (social) spatial relativity is far higher since many social processes can be better explained using a theoretical system that treats motion, dynamics, continuous processes, and transformations as being the normal state of affairs.

Space in this regard is conceptualised by Martina Löw (2001, see also 2005) as a relational (re)arrangement of human beings and objects located at places, consisting of the two interwoven processes of *perception* and *action*. She classifies her spatial theory as relational, because it takes the actor itself and his/her location into account. Materiality, social interaction and broader sociological concepts as poverty, gentrification or informal markets can look significantly different if not analysed from a distant perspective, but from the individual actors position. These social phenomena only exist because of the interwoven

2 **Socialogical model of relational space**
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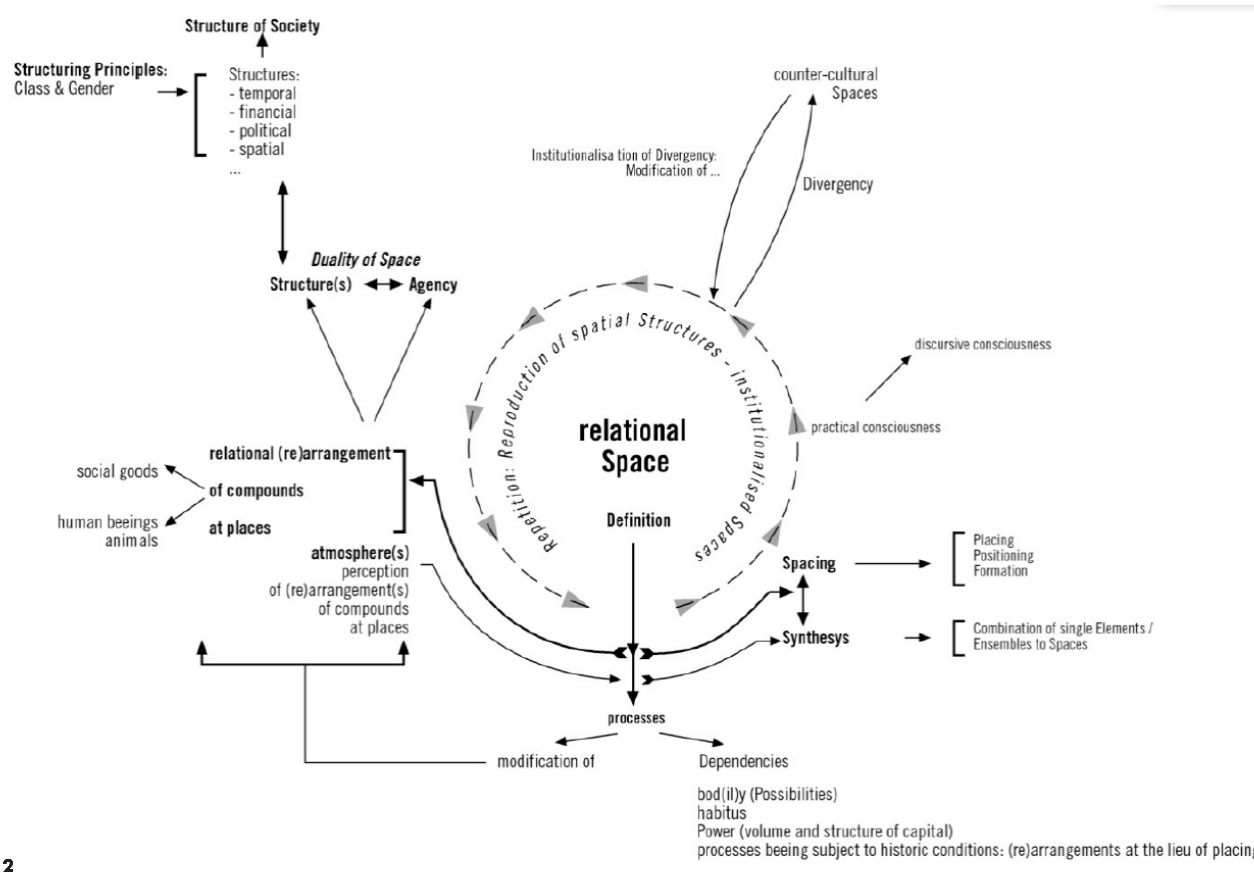

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actions and perceptions of individual actors with their specific social networks, powers, education, and their habitus. The model of relational space takes individual perspectives on action, materiality, and structure along with emotional aspects serious. This allows one to explain the production of space as sociologically highly relevant from a micro to macro scale. Martina Löw shows how individual constitutions of space can form complex and overlaying social phenomena due to their figurative contestation against each other. Space is produced by perception and action; the latter is called *spacing* and refers to "the positioning of social objects (B) and people and of primarily symbolic markings in order to denote as such ensembles of objects and people" (Löw 2001, 158; own translation). Secondly, a *synthesis effect* is necessary in the structuring of space: people and objects are combined, producing spaces through processes of perception, imagination and remembering. These two processes do not operate in an arbitrary fashion, and instead observe predefined conditions.

Spaces are created by the arrangement of bodies – both living beings and social objects – which are the products of both current and past (symbolic and material) action: "Space is the relational arrangement of social objects and people (living beings) in locations" (Löw 2001, 224; own translation). Spacing and the synthesis process are both subject to predefined conditions and depend on the nature of actions. Societal notions of space, and class-specific, gender-specific and cultural-specific habitus all influence these processes; they are also affected by the location of the synthesis process and the external influence of the social objects and people already present. In addition, one can only 'place' that which is available in a given action situation. In other words, spacing processes are actually negotiation processes based on the symbolic and material goods (and beings) present in a given location; these processes do not take place in a power vacuum (see also Löw 2001, 228).

This approach provides a theoretical framework for analysing power relations and gender perspectives in informal markets that operate "below" official rules and written guidelines in a contested space. These markets are the result of networks of trust, financial dependence, utilisation of very limited space, cultural guidelines, and also of personal motives, such as the wish for upward social mobility for one's offspring.

Spatial arrangements thus have a forming influence on actions and are simultaneously (re)produced by these. A given arrangement of social goods and persons determines the way newcomers can place themselves within these spatial relations, limiting their range of acceptable actions. This is important to consider if arguing about access to established markets as institutionalised spaces. However, space is still dynamic, since it is

B **The term "social objects" refers to a materiality that has a distinct social meaning, which can be culturally variant. The social meaning is not inherent to the materiality respectively the object itself, but rather attributed to it. The social notion of given objects has to be acquired within a specific societal setting as a learning process.**

reproduced in acting. Changes to spatial configurations can be of temporal nature, or if they were reproduced by action again, become institutionalised themselves. It is the great advantage of this theoretical framework to enable overlapping spaces of different habitual and temporal character on a theoretical basis. This will come into play by analysing the different perspectives on PKS of long-term vendors, newcomers or city officials. They might share the same location but create different spaces without consciously thinking about it due to routines in repetitive, everyday life. In describing the constitution of spaces, Martina Löw (2001) refers back to the differentiation made by Anthony Giddens (1984) between practical and discursive consciousness: the latter allows us to put our own actions and behaviour into words while we reflect upon and consider them.

This fact is made use of in the methodical design of this study. Instead of solely relying on observational data or questionnaires, which can give structural and quantitative insight into informal markets and their gender and spatial structure from a *cross-sectional* point of view, interviews with local actors and key persons were used to reveal the *processes* by which the spatial and social dimensions of informal markets are produced. By describing their role within this complex spatial configuration of an operating informal wholesale market, interviewees can transform a part of their knowledge from practical consciousness over to discursive consciousness and can then describe their constitution of space.

Routine, everyday actions that we don't consciously reflect upon give form to space. That is, certain positioning (actions) and synthesis processes are repeated, and societal structures are reproduced by habitual actions. The resulting spaces in turn influence the actions. "Appropriate" behaviour in museums, when visiting religious sites, or at informal markets is based on the production of space from practical consciousness. It is self-evident for the vendors to know whom to pay for putting up tables, for security, and for market organisation. The status of the market as informal does not imply that it works without strict rules that vendors attempting to sell there are expected to know and abide by.

This duality of space (structures that frame actions and are reproduced in acting) is termed 'spatial structure' if the production of the space is formed according to rules and resources, and is embedded in institutions. Structures are thus anchored in institutions, in "routines of social action, which become permanent" (Löw 2001, 169).

Spatial structures, alongside legal and economic structures and the structural principles of class and gender that are rooted in these *structures*, make up the overall structure of a gi-

C **According to three common selling shifts at the PKS (see 5.2.2.), interviews were conducted in three shifts: 1.night: 0 am-2 am; 2. night: 6 pm -12 pm; 3. night: 2 am - 6 am.**

ven society. The spatial is thus not separate from the societal, the former is in fact a part of the latter.

The design of this research survey took the relational nature of space into account by mapping the individual responses of vendors to the location that they inhabited. This way, their characteristics within the spatial field of an informal wholesale market can be analysed in relation to the ones of other vendors. Since placing processes depend on the material and social configurations of the place studied, the clustering of positions of vendors according to their socioeconomic status e.g., might not reveal the same coherence as if they were able to choose their place freely.

1.3. METHODS OF INFORMATION COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Information on the relevant economic, regional, and political context factors (Chapter 2) were obtained through review of the respective literature and press. During the six week-long field survey in Jakarta, applied quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were used. Specifically, a quantitative survey of 296 vendors and qualitative interviews with 5 female vendors were conducted. Four representatives of different PKS actors and one expert of Jakarta's urban planning administration provided further information in guided interviews. These two main methods of data collection were guided by the 8 key questions named above and are meant to provide a comprehensive as well as a detailed insight into how the specific informal market works, who the vendors are and how they manage to position and consolidate within the market. The two main components of data collection and analysis will be described in further detail in the sections below.

Before and while the field work took place, the head of the vendors association and the management of the two market operators involved were thoroughly briefed on the research project by way of personal talks and recommendation letters on the part of Trisakti University, the research cooperation partner in Jakarta.

1.3.1. Standardized interviews with PKS vendors

The standardised interviews took place on three days between 6 pm and 6 am (**C**) with ten interviewers present at the market. The English questionnaire had been translated into Indonesian. The interviewers were trained beforehand in approaching the field and in asking questions. Several techniques were discussed and practiced so that the interviewers could effectively retrieve the information asked in the questionnaire. The interviewers were given time to get used to handling the questionnaire and the collection of spatial data. An explanation was given as to how the questionnaire was structured, with the more personal questions at the end. This way, in case the interviewee decided to cancel the voluntary participation at any time, it is assured that important responses would be recorded thus far. To minimise methodical errors, a pre-test of the questionnaire was tested with a small subgroup of vendors and adjusted accordingly.

Each questionnaire included a map of the market and interviewers recorded spatial data. The position of the vendor's selling spot, the history of places occupied before the present location, as well as positions of good friends of the vendors and their greatest competitors were recorded in order to examine the space of the market in terms of positive and competitive hierarchies. In order to comply with the theoretical background of Löw's relational space, only positions with regard to other positions were questioned: the spatial data in the questionnaires takes the position of each vendor as the reference point by asking the vendors about their spatial history at the market and the positions of friends and competitors. These positions were marked on the map during the interview. Later, while coding the data into a statistical software tool, a grid was developed that recorded the individual positions to a comparable origin **(D)**. The design of the standardised interview corresponds with the concept of 'relational space' in that each individual questionnaire is geo referenced. The vendors' responses represent their experiences and perceptions of *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* (PKS) from a specific perspective within a spatial field in relation to other vendors. These relative positions were recorded during the interviews and later standardised against each other so that specific findings could be mapped thematically onto the precise PKS grid-map.

Each of the ten interviewers took on about 30 vendors as interviewees. The questions were read aloud and the responses recorded into the questionnaire directly. This method provides a huge advantage over passively handing questionnaires to the vendors and collecting them later in terms of the percentage of the returned questionnaires as well as understanding of questions. Any uncertainty an interviewee has can be solved by asking the interviewer directly, especially in the case of misleading predefined responses.

The total number of interviewed vendors was 296 with an average of 10% missing items throughout the questionnaire. Additionally, the sample covered about half of all vendors selling at *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen*. This is a positive start due to the more informal character of the market.

D **To obtain a standardised map, which documents the current building stock of *Pasar Senen* Blocks and also the adjacent buildings has proven to be impossible for the researchers. Therefore, they provided the interviewers with a manually drawn map displaying all relevant structural-spatial elements on the PKS terrain, like buildings, roofing constructions, entrances, staircases. The researchers additionally initiated the accurate measurement of the PKS territory by a team of engineers at Trisakti University Jakarta. The precise drawing could only be accomplished after the standardized vendors' interviews had been conducted. As the researchers have been familiar with the entire data collection stage in the field and knew the PKS locations each interviewer concentrated on, itwas possible to finally translate every single position marked in the manually drawn map into positions on the precise PKS grid-map.**

E **Further interviews with a male and a female representative of the PKS vendors association took place at the cake market and followed a different interview guide. However, the development of the English transcripts pursued the same procedure.**

1.3.2. Qualitative content analysis of in-depth interviews with female vendors

The second component of the field research consisted of personal, semi-structured interviews with five female vendors. These interviews aimed to elaborate on the guiding key questions and collect information beyond that of the quantitative survey of vendors' attributes. The in-depth interviews intended to reveal the processes by which the spatial and social dimensions of the informal cake market are developed. Open questions motivated the vendors to explain their role within the complex relational arrangement of objects and people at the PKS. By reflecting on, and considering one's own actions, the interviewees were able to transform a part of their knowledge from practical consciousness to discursive consciousness, which enabled them to describe how they contribute to spacing and how they perceive (their) space.

The five interviewees were selected in conformity with the following criteria:

a) PKS attendance of more than five years, b) different age-groups, c) selling with and without tables, d) smaller and larger size of the selling area, e) positioning at different locations of the PKS. With the help of one researcher's personal acquaintances and after several attempts to personally contact female vendors, finally 5 female vendors could be convinced to participate in in-depth interviews: 3 vendors of PKS III, 1 vendor of PKS IV, and 1 vendor of PKS II corridor (attributes of these vendors are detailed in Table 13 in Chapter 5). Two of the semi-structured personal interviews were conducted directly at the PKS selling position and the other three interviews took place at the respective female vendors' homes.

In the first step of analyzing the interviews, the audio recordings in Indonesian language were translated into an English raw transcript by omitting embellished and meaningless formulations. In the second step, a structured record of the interview was produced by bundling scattered text components and skipping passages identical in content. In doing so, the procedure of bundling largely corresponds to the structure of the interview guide. The statements of vendors going beyond the given questions have also been added in a structured manner. Finally, the summarized and structured English text-documents of the five vendor interviewees' statements provided the basis for a qualitative content analysis **(E)**. The text-documents of the personal in-depth interviews with female vendors and representatives of the vendors' association were analyzed according to Mayring's (2010) basic forms of interpretation (summarizing, explicating, structuring) and relevant techniques of qualitative content analysis. In the course of identifying categories in an inductive manner, the context under consideration was occasionally expanded on by observations of the researchers and from the relevant literature.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This research report is divided into six parts. The first chapter provides a brief introduction of the research topic and elaborates on the research design. Chapter 2 describes contextual factors of street trading in Jakarta. It focuses on the particular role of women's informal employment in (urban) Indonesia before briefly introducing the regional context of Jakarta's character as a megacity and finally presenting policies and actions to provide spaces for street traders in Jakarta, which are pointing to a current policy change under way. Chapter 3 looks into the case of the urban wholesale night market *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* (PKS) in Jakarta and gives details on the historical and locational characteristics, the spatial structure, and the economic interplay of its actors. The spatial, economic, and institutional micro contexts for the vendors' activities are identified while revealing close ties between formal and informal spheres. Findings from the statistical analysis of the standardized interviews with 296 PKS vendors are presented in Chapter 4. The analysis places particular emphasis on gender differences strategically acting within the informal market by taking the vendor's location and its characteristics in relation to other vendors into consideration. Special attention is paid to vendor groups who managed to successfully consolidate. Chapter 5 shows the analytical results of the in-depth interviews with five female vendors. By means of a qualitative content analysis of the interview transcripts, a structure of results emerged, explaining the motives, challenges, hindrances, and chances that female vendors experience when earning their livelihood and occupying space at the informal wholesale market. In the final Chapter 6, the findings are summarized to respond to the eight key questions which were introduced in the research design and hence guided the research work. As the area of the informal market and the entire surroundings will shortly be redeveloped and the continuance of the practiced land use is not legally secured, the chapter ends with some recommendations to preserve the space for the *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* cake market.

CONTEXT FACTORS
2.

Dealing with the urban phenomenon of an informal market in a megacity like Jakarta and how female vendors consolidate in an informal market surrounding requires the consideration and breakdown of economic, regional, and political contextual factors, such as the informal employment of women in Indonesia, the city profile of Jakarta, and the policies on the informal trade in Jakarta.

2.1. ECONOMIC CONTEXT: INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN INDONESIA

In many rural and urban areas and megacities of Southeast Asia, the informal sector (A) is far from being a peripheral factor. Not only is the informal sector large in size, it also provides a range of products and services integral to urban economies. Different perspectives on the informal sector commonly agree that women in developing economies are more likely to work in the informal sector than in the formal sector (WIEGO 2012a). While informal employment is an important source of employment for men, it is more so for women (United Nations 2010, 88-89). This is also true for Indonesia, where being a woman increases the probability of working informally by 24% (World Bank 2010, 54). In 2010, female employment in Indonesia (ages 15+) was more common in informal employment with 61.8 % compared to 57.2% for men, while the shares of both sexes have been slightly decreasing over the last years (ILO 2012, 53). Gallaway/Bernasek (2002) investigated determinants of labour force participation for women and men on the basis of a model that allowed for the possibility of a complex decision-making process, explaining women's participation in the informal sector compared with the formal sector. The results suggest that infants decrease the likelihood of a woman participating in paid employment relative to work in the home (home production). Toddlers increase the probability that a woman will participate in informal sector employment relative to formal sector employment, while the presence of

A **The debate about the utility of the term is beyond the scope of this work. For practical reasons, the informal sector is considered as encompassing largely unrecognised, unrecorded and unregulated small-scale activities. It includes small enterprises with hired workers, household enterprises using family labour and the selfemployed. Production processes characteristically rely on high levels of working capital as against fixed capital. Formal contracts between employers and employees or between buyers and sellers are rare and the ofteninvisible activities involved usually fall below, or outside, the fiscal net (ILO, 2000). The scholarly debate about the informal economy (IE) in developing economies can be structured in 4 dominant schools of thought subscribing to different causal theories of what gives rise to the IE: 1. the dualistic school (informal operators are excluded from modern economic opportunities), 2. the structuralist school (IE is due to the nature of capitalist growth), 3. the legalist school (a hostile legal system leads to IE and extralegal norms) and 4. the voluntarist school (IE is the choice of informal operators after weighing the costs and benefits) (WIEGO 2012a).**

either infants or toddlers in the household has no effect on men's participation in either formal or informal sector employment (Gallaway/Bernasek 2002, 315f). When taking education into account, the authors found that the most marginalized women work in the informal sector, those with the least education and lowest potential earnings as wage workers (ibid., 320f), though no distinction was made between the rural and urban context. Although the data employed referred to the Indonesian Family Life Survey 1993 and hence appears to be somewhat out-dated, a more recent study on behalf of the World Bank (2010) interpreted the fact that women working informally are more content than men as the result of the women's preference for flexible working hours of an informal job, which allow the women to work while still taking care of children and elderly parents. Alternatively it is assumed that women may have lower expectations of both formal and informal sector employment (World Bank 2010, 68). Women in the informal sector work about 20 % fewer hours than women with formal jobs, who work almost as many hours per week as men (ibid.). On average, only 1.8% of female informal workers transitioned into the formal sector annually in the period 2000-2007 (men 2.5%). Among female non-agricultural workers, the percentage of women transferring to the formal sector is higher with 3.1% (men: 4.5%). Current labour market indicators of the Statistics Indonesia (BPS) reported for 2010 that the female Indonesian labour force participation rate (ages 15-64) increased only slightly over the last decade and reached 53.7% in 2010 compared to 85.8% for men (ILO 2012, 53). Obviously, the tendency of women's decisions whether to work or not, and the preference for informality is still, to a large extent, influenced by traditional gender roles, as long as the variables of education, age, rural or urban environment, employment sector and employment status are not further elaborated. Further, the slow growth of the formal sector limits the job availability for women in this sector.

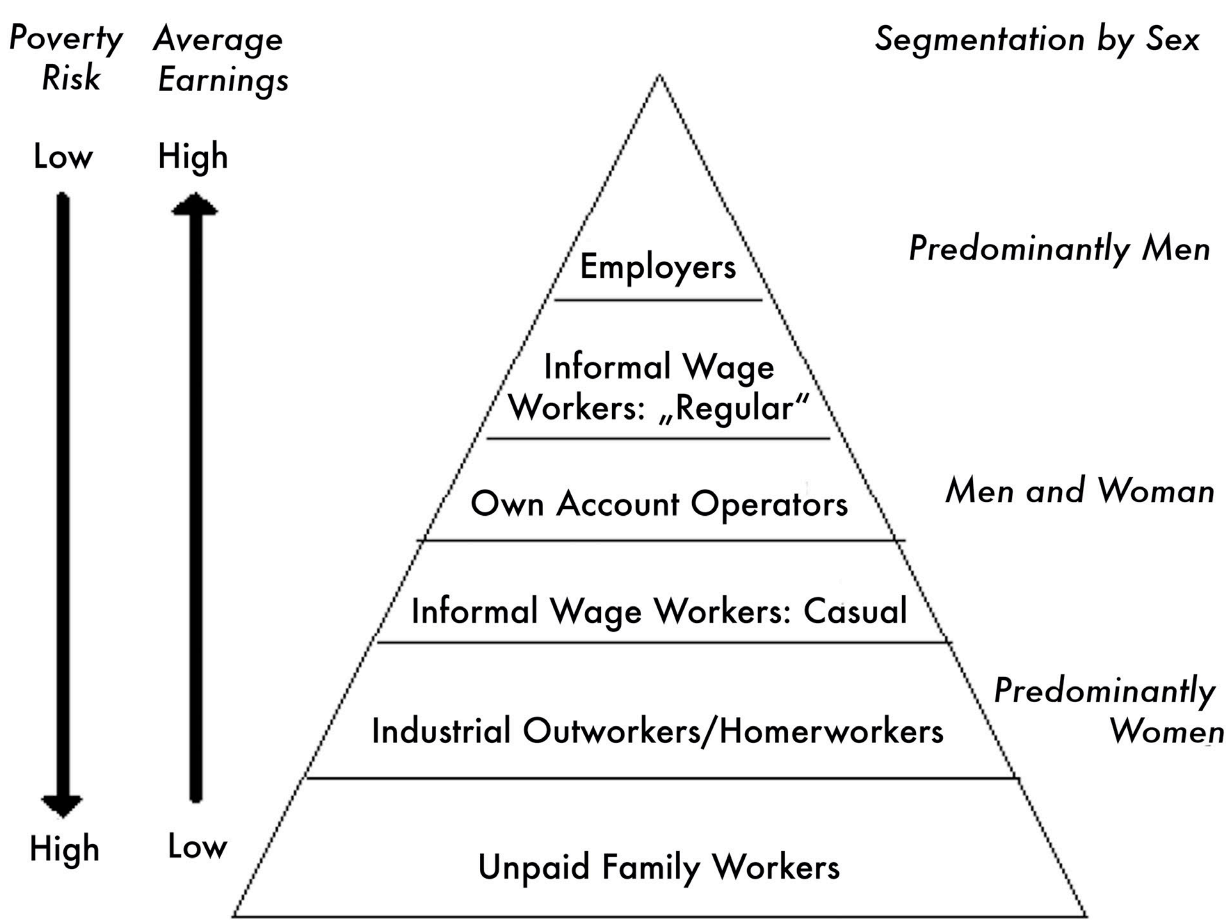
2.1.1. Gender differences when considering employment status, employment by sector

The international (statistical) standard definition of informal employment focuses on the status in employment by classifying informal employment into 2 categories broken into 5 segments (hierarchies):

a) Informal self-employment: (1) employers in informal enterprises, (2) own-account workers in informal enterprises, (3) unpaid family workers, and (4) members of informal producers' cooperatives,

b) Informal wage employment: (5) employees without formal contracts, worker benefits, or social protection, who are emplo-

3 **WIGO segment model of informal employment**
(Source: WIEGO 2012b)



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yed either in formal or informal enterprises (Cuevas et al. 2009, 2; Chen 2004).

For a better understanding, Figure 3 provides an elaborated overview of the segments of informal employment, interlinked with a segmentation by sex. Additionally, the segments are characterised by the degree of economic risk, average earnings, and poverty risk (WIEGO 2012b).

A closer look at the employment status of the Indonesian labour force in 2010 reveals the largest gender differences in the respective shares of unpaid family workers: in female employment it accounted for 33.3% compared to 7.7% in male employment (ILO 2012, 55). The share of employers in female employment (including own account workers, employers assisted by temporary, unpaid or permanent workers) was 31.6% in 2010, compared to 49% in male employment (ibid., 55).

Apart from agriculture, female informal employment remarkably concentrates on the wholesale trade and retail trade sector. In 2008, nearly half of all people employed in this sector (17.2 million) in Indonesia were women (8.5 million). However, only 22.5% of these women were employees in formal labour. Apart from a small group of female employers, all others were either own-account workers or unpaid family members in family owned businesses (van Klaveren et al. 2010, 67). 60% of women working in the informal non-agricultural sector work in household retail and as grocery traders (World Bank 2010, 54). In Java, women are traditionally associated with trading, and markets are said to be women's domain; Javanese women "are the principle vendors of meat, fish, and eggs as well as vegetables in the markets" (Murray 1991, 41).

2.1.2. Influences of the urban context, macroeconomic crises, education, and age

In Indonesia's urban areas, the majority of informal workers are employed in sales, transportation, domestic service, and as construction labourers. They are also better educated than informal workers in rural areas: 25% have a high-school education or higher, compared to 9% in rural areas. Therefore, over 82% of urban informal workers are considered non-poor in Indonesia (World Bank 2010, 62). The share of women's employment in urban informal employment reached 49.2% in 1997 (for men: 39.5%) and increased to 52% in 1999 (for men: 42.4%) (Tambunan/Purwoko 2002,62), indicating a significant impact of the Asian financial crisis in 1997. With the crisis, the number of urban unemployed increased rapidly, especially in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area, and a substantial number of workers looked for informal employment for survival reasons (Firman 2009, 328). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Jakarta City declined by Rp 17

B **Following the (not gendered) distinction in World Bank 2010, 64.**

trillion (€ 1,300 million) from 1997 to 1998 and the total approved domestic investment dropped by 3.5-fold in the same period of time (ibid., 330). The economic crisis led to a dramatic rise in informal sector activities, in particular among workers laid off from the industrial sector. The number of street vendors in Jakarta increased rapidly from about 95,000 in 1997 to 270,000 in 1998 (Firman 1999). As is typically the case during times of financial crisis, women workers and the poor/lower-middle-class households in Jakarta were the worst affected (Silvey/Elmhist 2003, cited in Bunnell/Miller 2011, 38). Four out of every 10 female formal workers in Indonesia changed sectors. In both urban and rural areas, there were major increases in the share of women who entered the workforce as unpaid workers in family businesses and on farms (3.8%), or who became self-employed (3.9%) (World Bank 2010, 70).

In the context of the worldwide financial crisis in 2008-2009, women working in manufacturing for global supply chains were especially affected by the decline in industrial production and exports, particularly in manufacturing exports (van Klaveren et al. 2010, 26). In spite of these job losses, the proportion of women in informal labour did not increase, whereas the number of men working in the informal sector did (ibid.). The unemployment rate continued its downward trend in 2009 and 2010 (women 8.7%, men 6.1%) (ILO 2012, 53). Of the total amount of underemployed, 49% were females (Feb. 2009) (van Klaveren et al. 2010, 37).

Among the most affected by unemployment were the girls and young women aged 15-19 and 20-24. In 2008, official unemployment rates were respectively 31% and 22% (ibid., 36), although women workers in their 20s were better educated than their male counterparts (ibid., 76). The mean years of schooling was highest in Jakarta (9.7 years) in 2008, compared to the national average (female adults: 7.1 years and 8.0 for males) (ibid., 72). The statistical outcome that the longer people stay in school, the more likely they are to find a formal job in Indonesia (World Bank 2010, 62) does apparently not apply in the same way to young woman as to young men. A good education doesn't protect young women from unemployment. In the early 2000s, the informal sector in Indonesia absorbed by far the largest amount of new entrants to the labour market (von Klaveren et al. 2010, 8). However, the authors of this study could not present findings at to what extent young women were absorbed by informal employment. Nevertheless, it is indicated that informal workers who are young, urban and male are the most successful at breaking into the formal market (World Bank 2010, 69).

The possible reasons why women work informally in Indonesia, and specifically, Jakarta vary widely **(B)**:

- Informal sector jobs are preferable for the reason of weighed wages, benefits, working hours, location and working environment and also the conditions to reconcile work and family life.
- Informal jobs could be a trap for those who cannot find a formal job.
- Informal jobs may be a stepping-stone to a better job or may help to bridge periods of looking for a formal job.
- Informality functions as a coping mechanism (safety net) for people being laid off from formal jobs due to large scale macroeconomic crises.

2.2. REGIONAL CONTEXT: JAKARTA CITY PROFILE

Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, is located in the north-western part of Java, the most densely populated island of the Indonesian archipelago. It was formerly known as Sunda Kelapa (397–1527), Jayakarta (1527–1619), Batavia (1619–1942), and Djakarta (1942–1972) (Trade Expo Indonesia 2013). Jakarta is the country's economic, cultural, and political centre, with a population of 9.6 million (C). Accordingly, Jakarta's income per capita is more as twice as high as the national average (BPS 2012). The megacity is not only the largest city in Indonesia, but also in Southeast Asia, and is projected to rank among the 25 most populated cities in the world by 2025 (United Nations 2012, 7). Jakarta is governed as an administrative unit on a par with the status of a province: *Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta* (DKI) (Special Capital Territory) (Bunell/Miller 2011, 37).

Jakarta's economy depends on financial service, trading, and manufacturing. The manufacturing industry is well diversified with significant electronics, automotive, chemicals, mechanical engineering, and biomedical sciences manufacturing sectors (Trade Expo Indonesia 2013). In 1997, the Indonesian economy was severely affected by the Asian financial crisis. It experienced real devaluation of the currency, flight of foreign capital and plummeting investor confidence (Rakodi/Firman 2009, 6).

2.2.1. Jakarta's municipalities

Administratively, DKI Jakarta is divided into five municipalities (*kota* or *kotamadya*) and one regency, the islands in the northern part of the main land called *Kepulauan Seribu* (Thousand Islands). Each municipality is led by a mayor, whereas DKI Jakarta is governed by an elected governor. The regional decentralisation strategy contributed to strengthen local authorities' power (Firman 2008 quoted in Rakodi/Firman 2009, 7).

Central Jakarta (*Jakarta Pusat*) is Jakarta's smallest municipality and home to most of Jakarta's administrative and political activities. It is characterized by large parks, represen-

C **jakarta.go.id: Department of Communication, Informatics and Public Relations of Jakarta Capital City: http://www.jakarta.go.id/english/news/2012/11/population-rate-in-jakarta-reaches-9.6-million-people.**

4 **Provinces of Indonesia and population density (inhabitants/km²) (Source: Weltkarte.com)**

5 **Jakarta's 5 *kotamadyas* (municipalities) (Source: World Bank 2011, 5)**

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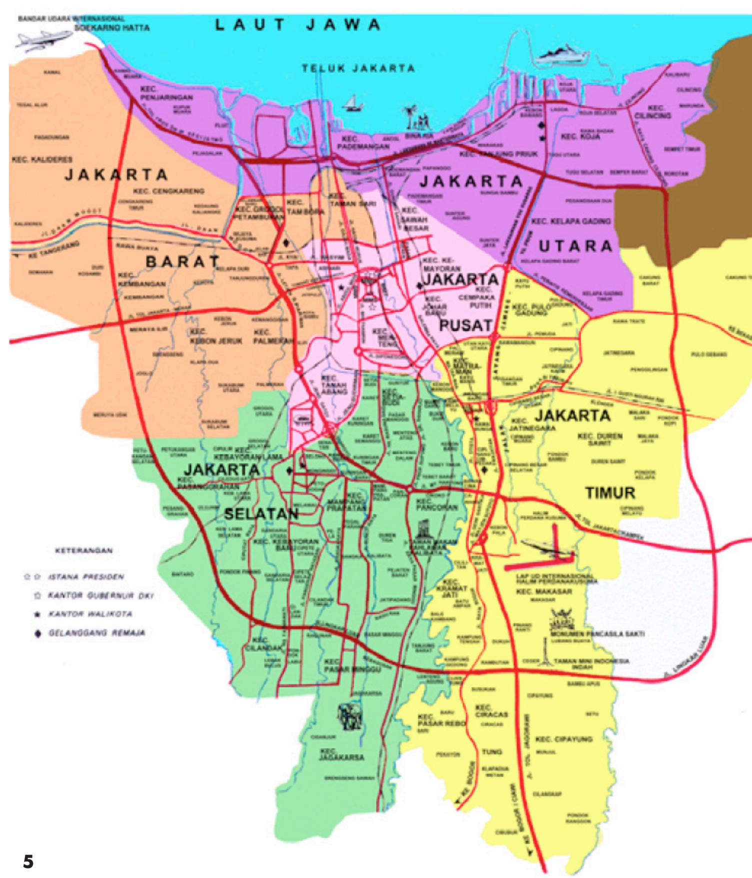

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tative buildings dating back to Dutch colonial rule, and several national landmarks like the National Monument (Monas), constructed under Indonesia's first president Soekarno. The monumental tower symbolizes not only the city centre but aims for reminding the nation of what it should be and of what is meant to have independence after 350 years of colonialism (Kusno 2000, 54). The city's built environment is moreover characterized by numerous skyscrapers, mainly concentrated in the central business district, but also built ad hoc throughout the city. About thirty new high-rise towers appeared only between 1990-1995, mostly in Jakarta's city center (Silver, 2008). Jakarta is comprised of low-lying, densely populated neighbourhoods, which are highly diverse in terms of income levels and uses, and many of these neighbourhoods are home to varied informal economic activities (World Bank 2011, 5).

Jakarta represents a type of urban agglomeration that is characterized by urban growth and urban sprawl, high pressure for change of urban land use, extreme social inequality, and multiple 'modernities' and life styles. Not surprisingly, contradictory economic, social and spatial phenomena co-exist and interact, for example marginalised settlements of the poor exist next to high-rise structures and street vendors next to the global finance (Evers/Korff 2003: 24). Especially in the inner-city areas, the phenomenon of hybrid modes of interwoven urban spaces appear, areas that are committed to global, national and local functions.

2.2.2. Jakarta Metropolitan Area (JMA)

Jakarta's urban growth and conurbation has long exceeded the administrative boundaries of DKI Jakarta. The Jakarta Metropolitan Area meanwhile comprises 12 administrative units: in addition to DKI Jakarta, the neighbouring municipalities and districts of Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi and Cianjur (known by the acronym: "Jabodetabekjur") (Firman 2009, 329). The JMA accommodates 26.6 million people (www.tempointeraktif.com) or 12% of Indonesia's total population and produces one-fourth of the national Gross Domestic Product (ibid.). McGee (1991) describes the mega-urbanization process of Jakarta's extended urban region as a distinctive urbanization pattern of (capitalist) Asian countries. The "*desakota* region" (from the Indonesian words *desa* (village) and *kota* (town)) comprises the typical land uses of the city and the densely populated urban hinterland, whose economic activities are closely interlinked (McGee 1991). During the process of the formation of the *desakota* region, the countryside was urbanised, without the hinterland population necessarily moving into the city. Rural economies and lifestyles became overlaid by urban economic activities and cultures, but without disappearing altogether. Hence, the extended urban region converted into a hybrid of urban and rural cultures (Forbes 1996: 96).

2.2.3. Challenges for urban development

Although the provincial government of Jakarta has experienced successful economic growth (at an average of 5-6%) since 2007, there is still deceleration in many sectors. The spatial planning, infrastructure and service provision (namely: transport, green space, affordable housing, clean water, education, healthcare) have not been achieved in order to meet the demand (World Bank 2011, 6). A few problems of urban development will be touched on below.

- Flooding

Due to Jakarta's location in a deltaic plain, crisscrossed by 13 natural rivers, 40% of the city, particularly of the northern part, is below sea level (Steinberg 2007), while the southern parts are comparatively hilly. Rivers, coastal tidal flooding, the wet season rains, and insufficient drainage caused by clogging, make Jakarta prone to flooding (World Bank 2011, 5). Along with the sea level rise, land subsidence is one of the greatest challenges facing Jakarta (ibid.). Jakarta is sinking at an average rate of about 10 to 12 centimetres each year, with up to 26 centimetres in the northern coastal areas, caused by extensive land extraction due to groundwater exploration and pressure from high-rise buildings, which is pushing parts of the city into the underlying water table (Abidin et al. 2009, cited in Wardany 2010).

- Transport - traffic

Despite the presence of many wide roads, congestion appears due to heavy traffic, especially in the central business district. Traffic congestion creates immense economic costs (an estimated Rp 12.8 trillion/year). The public transport serves 56% of all trips, that is managed by only 2% of all motorized vehicles (Jakarta Local Government 2012).

- Lack of affordable housing

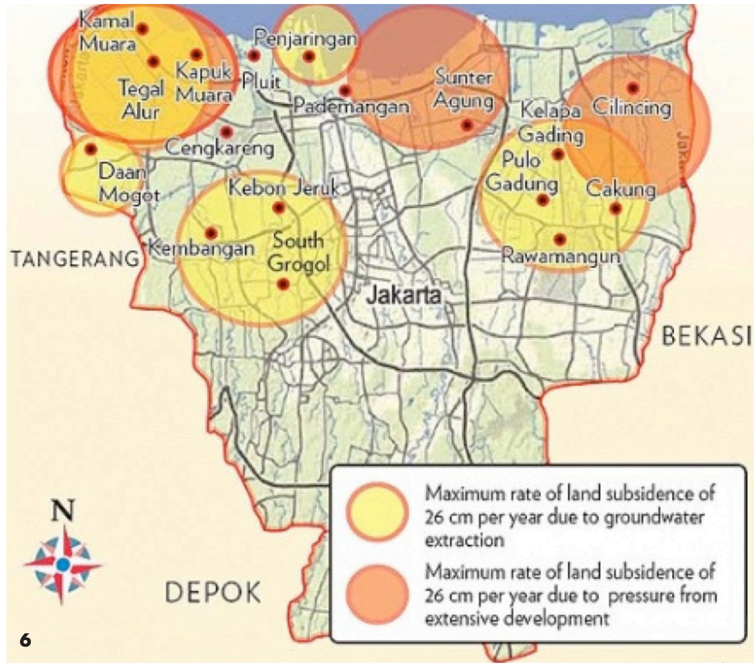
The provision of housing for the poor and lower-middle classes continues to be inadequate relative to demand. Increasing land prices and a rampant under-regulated private-development sector has resulted in a booming real-estate market that excludes the poor. In response, large informal settlements have grown over many years along waterways, natural rivers and reservoirs (World Bank 2011, 6).

- Modern retail outlet expansion and the decline of traditional markets **(D)**

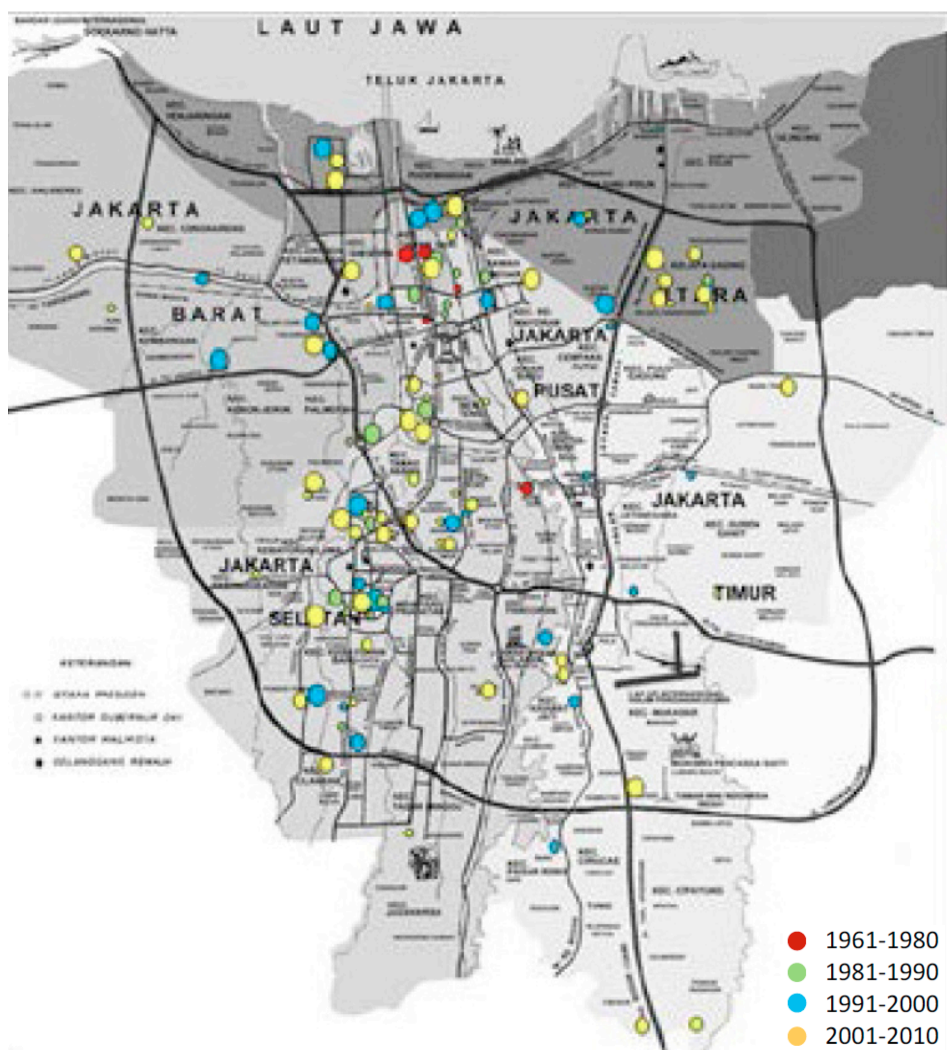
D **According to the Presidential Regulation No. 112/2007 a traditional market (TM) is defined as: "A market that is built and managed by the Government, the Regional Governments, Private Entities and Region-Owned Entities, including through cooperation w/private entities with such places of business as stores, kiosks, stalls and tents owned/managed by small or medium traders, community self-reliance or cooperative w/small scale enterprises, small capital and dealing w/commodities through bargaining" (cited in Meliala 2012: 6).**

6 **Jakarta's fastest sinking areas**
(Source: Abidin et al. 2009, cited in Wardany 2010)

7 **Welcome to Jakarta: Toll Road Traffic**
(Source: http://flights.indonesiamatters.com/4970-jakarta-airport-traffic-disruption/)



8 **Growth of shopping centres in Jakarta 1961-2010 (Source: Widiyani/Timmermanns 2011, 5)**



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Although traditional markets remain the most visited (Nielson 2010) and are still the main channel of sales of basic needs products produced by small and medium enterprises, modern retail businesses such as hypermarkets, supermarkets, and mini-markets are replacing more traditional retail outlets, including wet markets and independent small grocers (Rangkuti/Slette 2010, 3). In 2009, DKI Jakarta contained 3,968 mini-markets, 317 supermarkets, and 40 hypermarkets (ibid., 8). The areas of shopping malls in Jakarta significantly increased from 1.4 million m^2 in 2000 to 2.4 million m^2 in 2005 (Tempo 2006 quoted in Firman 2009, 332) and the total retail supply in Jakarta increased from 2.8 million m^2 in 2007 to 3.6 million m^2 in the first quarter of 2012 (Cushmann/Wakefield 2012).

According to the Urban Poor Consortium, a Jakarta advocacy organisation, only about 500,000 Jakarta residents (of 9.6 million) can afford to shop in malls (Rukmana 2009).

Compared to the immense growth of the modern retail sector, the number of traditional markets in Jakarta has stayed at about 150 in the last 27 years (Saputra 2012). Jakarta's traditional markets sell a variety of goods, not all food related. For example at *Pasar Tanah Abang*, the biggest textile center in all of Southeast Asia, at least USD 11 million (€ 8.5 million) changes hands every day (Saputra 2012). Due to the traditional markets' deteriorating conditions, the national government, city government, and *PD Pasar Jaya* (the city owned traditional market operator) started a comprehensive revitalization programme. The most important markets, like the two central markets *Pasar Senen* and *Pasar Tanah Abang*, will be reconstructed into six-story buildings with facilities such as elevators, escalators, larger parking areas, and air conditioning. Some of them will also be equipped with hotels, apartments and office buildings (The Jakarta Post 2012a).

As will be shown with the example of Senen Market and the informal wholesale cake market, the outdoor spaces of traditional markets are favourite selling locations of street vendors in Jakarta.

2.3. JAKARTA'S POLICIES ON PROVIDING URBAN SPACES FOR STREET VENDORS

Street vendors or PKL (*Pedagang Kaki Lima*) (E) are a common and widespread phenomenon in Jakarta. Negative effects of the vendors' claims to informally utilize urban spaces have been hotly debated in the public discourse. The occurrence of street vendors in Jakarta is not entirely new and usually reached its peaks in times of economic crisis, when increasing numbers of unemployed or underemployed - both urban poor and the

E **The term PKL derived from the Dutch colonial rule regulating the orderly provision of sidewalks in front of shops. According to the regulation, the minimum width observed had to be five (*Lima*) feet (*Kaki*).**

F **Information received by the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta (*Dinas Koperasi, UMKM dan Perdagangan*) in January 2013 and own observations.**

middle class alike - altered the space of the city to fit their strategies of survival (Kusno 2010, 33). Jakarta resembled "a city of vendors" in the course of the Asian economic crisis in 1997 and although the city administration abstained from forced evictions, fences were erected in public parks and sidewalks lined with barbed wire preventing vendors access. Kusno (2010) described this governmental reaction as another form of illegality, "propagating new spatial practices beyond any imagined by urban design paradigms" (ibid., 33-34). In the course of the global financial crisis in 2008, the President of Indonesia urged all local administrative leaders to avoid forcefully evicting street vendors when implementing spatial planning improvements (The Jakarta Post 2009).

Apart from times of crisis, the respective governors of Jakarta have pursued different strategies to cope with PKL activities, which will be shortly summarized in the following sections, focussing on policies and actions to provide spaces. First, information on a categorisation and magnitude of street vendors in Jakarta will be provided.

2.3.1. Categorisation and sheer number of street vendors (PKL)

Street vendors (PKL) in Jakarta can be classified by their permanency or mobility as:

- permanent and semi-permanent street vendors, who establish 'colonies' or informal markets, either permanently or temporarily, while occupying the same places on sidewalks or other urban spaces;
- mobile street vendors, who do not utilize a specific space but move around, either selling on the streets (directly approaching means of transport) or roaming residential areas (ILO/URDI 2005, 13).

Further categorisation distinguishes the type of equipment (and means of transport) and the type of commodities offered (McGee/Yeung 1977, 22).

Permanent and semi-permanent street vendors' favourite selling areas in Jakarta mainly concentrate on urban spaces near markets and shopping centres, places of worship or public events, close to densely populated residential areas, and at transportation hubs (F).

Accurate estimates of the number of PKL in Jakarta are difficult to find, due to the transient and fluxing nature of street trading (Wilson 2010, 113) and to the different monitoring systems of the responsible city administration departments. In the course of the economic crisis of 1997/1998, the city administration estimated that the number of street vendors increased from about 120,000 to 270,000 (The Jakarta Post 2000). Data from

Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in May 2003 informed that there were 141,073 street vendors in Jakarta of which only 33,133 were registered (BPS cited in ILO/URDI 2005, 42). At the end of 2012, the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta (*Dinas Koperasi, UMKM dan Perdagangan*) had authorised the land use of "temporary PKL locations" (see below) for 51,065 (registered) street vendors (G), whereas the newly elected Jakarta government based its strategy for accommodating Jakarta's street vendors on an estimated number of 300,000 street vendors (The Jakarta Post 2012b), or approximately one vendor for every 33 inhabitants in Jakarta (9.6 million) (H). Information on the share of female street vendors in Jakarta was not available but there are indications of regional differences; e.g. a lower share of women (one in three vendors) in West Java, where Jakarta is situated, compared to a share of 50% in Central Java (Tinker 1997, 15).

2.3.2. City policies and actions

- Eviction and informal protection:

Before the democratization process in Indonesia was initiated in 1998, and also in post-Suharto (I) Jakarta, street vendors' activities had been blamed for threatening the orderliness of public life. Street vendors were criminalized by the Local Regulation no. 11/1988 on Public Order, which forbids the use of sidewalks, streets and public spaces to conduct business activities. In the past, this regulation had been used to justify the actions by the city's public agency security guards (Satpol PP) (J), evicting street vendors from areas prohibited for business activities and sometimes even confiscating their goods (ILO/URDI 2005, 43). The raids against vendors have taken various forms, ranging from the banning of vendors completely, to minimizing the provision of sidewalks (Kusno 2010, 34). However, the street vendors usually returned and continued the conduct of their business activities (ILO/URDI 2005, 43). The persistent presence of PKL was either seen as proof of the officials' inability to control the violation of regulations ("we cannot control them") (K) or as indirect evidence of officials collecting illegal fees (Purnamasari 2013), and thus contributed to the delegitimization of government agencies. Moreover, the cooperation between criminal and protection racket gangs and the police, civil ordinance officials and local authorities developed as a common practice (Robison/ Wilson/ Meliala 2008 cited in Wilson 2010, 116; Wilson 2008).
In contrast, the new governor of Jakarta (L) promised in 2012 that he would provide special locations for PKL to protect them from constant eviction (Sihite 2012).

G **Information received by the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta (*Dinas Koperasi, UMKM dan Perdagangan*) in January 2013.**

H **A study on street food vendors in the middle-size town of Bogor near Jakarta revealed the number of one vendor for every 14 inhabitants offering over 200 different kind of foods for immediate consumption on the streets of Bogor (Tinker 1997, 26, 28).**

I **Army officer and political leader who was president of Indonesia from 1967 to 1998. His three decades of uninterrupted rule gave Indonesia much-needed political stability and sustained economic growth, but his authoritarian regime finally fell victim to an economic downturn and its own internal corruption (Encyclopaedia Britannica, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/572060/Suharto).**

J **Satpol PP, while nominally a civilian security force, has become notorious for its violent behavior against traders in traditional markets, sidewalk vendors, beggars and slum dwellers (Purnamasari 2013).**

K **Interview with a representative of the Division for Urban Spatial Planning at the Department of Spatial Planning (*Dinas Tata Ruang*), Jakarta Capital City Government (DKI), 4 September 2012.**

L **Governor of Jakarta Joko Widodo became famous for his participatory approach to formally accommodate street vendors in the city of Surakarta (DELGOSEA 2012, 287-288).**

In scholarly debate, the governmental attitude towards criminalization and complicity has been characterized as a symbol of the "looseness" at the authoritarian center of the state, encouraging Jakarta's citizens to act on their own (Kusno 2010, 36, 37), or as "informal governance" (Wilson 2010, 116), lacking formal legal foundation. Others generalize the mode of "calculated informality" as a strategic choice of the government to ignore the implementation of laws for varying reasons, e.g. to avoid social unrest (Altrock 2012, 178). While according to Roy (2009), planning regimes can utilize informality as an instrument of both accumulation and authority, allowing a considerable territorialized flexibility to alter land and thus function as "a deeply informalized entity" (Roy 2009, 81).

- Temporary PKL locations:

The National Spatial Planning Law 26/2007 identified the need to incorporate the informal sector into urban planning (M) and to include minimum standards of services and provisions for greater accountability in spatial planning processes (Hudalah/Woltjer 2007 cited in Wilson 2010, 118). In Jakarta, the ambiguous and non-binding nature of the national law (Wilson 2010, 118) was converted into a zoning regulation, temporarily allowing informal sector activities to take place in areas not dedicated to commercial land. Accordingly, in consultation with the respective municipality (N) (e.g. Central Jakarta), the PKL activities have been permitted at specific locations during a defined time of the day, depending on the area and the activities (O). During the last decade, Jakarta thus pursued a policy of pooling street vendors by providing "temporary PKL locations" (*Locasi Sementara PKL*), coordinated by the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta (*Dinas Koperasi, UMKM dan Perdagangan*). However, the efforts of the local municipal officers to pool PKL is always hindered by the unavailability of suitable land (Berita Jakarta 2013a). Within the 5 municipalities of the DKI Jakarta, 1,268 locations are currently defined as "temporary locations" for the use of street vendors. The locations accommodate 51,065 street vendors who are allowed to regularly utilize the urban spaces during a fixed time frame (P).

Specifically, the 5 municipalities of Jakarta provide:

- Central Jakarta: 62 locations for 7,476 vendors
- North Jakarta: 173 locations for 6,296 vendors
- South Jakarta: 484 locations for 14,141 vendors
- East Jakarta: 165 locations for 9,248 vendors and
- West Jakarta: 384 locations for 13,904 vendors. (Q)

Spaces for sport, leisure, and recreation activities on public land are used for trading purposes as well as private land close

M Ibid.

N DKI Jakarta is administratively subdivided in five municipalities (*kotamadya*) (see also section 2.2.).

O Interview with a representative of the Division for Urban Spatial Planning at the Department of Spatial Planning (*Dinas Tata Ruang*), Jakarta Capital City Government (DKI), 4 September 2012.

P Information received by the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta (*Dinas Koperasi, UMKM dan Perdagangan*) in January 2013.

Q Ibid.

R **In January 2013 43 out of 97 traditional markets in Jakarta have yet been revitalized by *PD Pasar Jaya* in order to restore customers' interest in shopping at the traditional markets (Berita Jakarta 2013b).**

to shopping centres like the traditional markets. In the case of the *Pasar Kue Subuh* cake market in Central Jakarta, located at the parking area of the Senen (traditional) Market, the permission for a "temporary PKL location" was granted for two years and can be repeatedly extended by the city administration (see also section 3.5.1.).

- Municipality (*Kotamadya*) initiatives:

Each municipality has the right to pursue different policies for dealing with street vendors. For example, in the first half of the last decade, the municipality of Central Jakarta implemented its own vision to prevent street vendors from occupying public spaces in Central Jakarta by evicting PKL or preventing the access to public spaces. In 2004, thousands of PKL stalls were demolished close to Tanah Abang Market, one of the most famous street vendors' agglomerations in Jakarta (ILO/URDI 2005, 45). The Central Jakarta Mayor took another approach in 2009 by establishing dedicated 'culinary centres' in five areas in Central Jakarta. While constructing new food counters in selected locations, the former street stalls and vendor carts along the side of the streets were tidied up (Sabarini 2009).

- Relocation to traditional markets and new "citizens markets":

Past and present initiatives of the city-owned market operator *PD Pasar Jaya* provided incentives for street vendors to move away from the sidewalks and outdoor spaces and into kiosks inside traditional market buildings. In most cases the PKL, who were willing to be relocated, were offered a six month' rent-free release (The Jakarta Post 2009b). It's likely *PD Pasar Jaya* was motivated to launch such incentives due to both a decreasing rate of kiosk occupancy in their markets and the complaints of kiosk vendors struggling to survive because of competition with street vendors in front of the markets. However, street vendors who tested the relocation often experienced disadvantages, like the lack of space, the loss of established customers and (after the six month trial ended) unaffordable prices for kiosks, especially in revitalized markets **(R)** (The Jakarta Post 2009b, The Jakarta Post 2009c, Wisnu 2009).

Since the end of 2012, the "arrangement" of street vendors became a top priority for the Jakarta city administration. As a first step, it planned to move 15,000 PKL to vacant kiosks in traditional markets by offering an initial waiver of kiosk rental fees and providing better locations than in the past (The Jakarta Post 2012b). In January 2013, the market operator *PD Pasar Jaya* announced that it had prepared more than 4,000 kiosks within all five municipalities for the relocation of PKL (The Jakarta Post

2013). However, street vendors tend to reject the move to kiosks in market buildings, as they are seen to be without strategic value as far as the locational quality is concerned (Berita Jakarta 2013c).

A different project plans to provide 30 "citizens' markets" throughout Jakarta in 2013. The citizens' markets are meant to be constructed in a simple small-scale manner and located in residential areas for demand at the neighbourhood level. Vendors here would only need to pay a water and electricity provision (Berita Jakarta 2013d). It remains to be seen whether these citizen markets can compete with the myriad minimarkets encompassing the city.

- Providing space in shopping malls, office buildings, and at vendors' "concentration points":

The Jakarta government started several initiatives to integrate the private sector in order to provide selling space for street vendors. For example, the local regulation, *Perda* 2/2002, on the Private Market Place in Jakarta was issued by DKI Jakarta to oblige developers of middle- and large-scale retail developments to set aside 10% or 20%, accordingly, of the total floor space for small traders and informal vendors, and to only charge them up to 75% of the rent. The implementation proved to be difficult as the details of the execution were not elaborated and sanctions were omitted (ILO/URDI 2005, 44). A governor's degree in 2003, which enforced the latter regulation, failed due to the resistance of the retail business associations. They criticized the financial burden of the regulation, as they could not charge the PKL tenants normal fees. Instead the lobbyists suggested to donate substitutes, like donations for compensations funds or land purchase. The government rejected the proposal, as compensation in the form of funds (not space) would allow for opportunities for corruption within the bureaucracy (ibid.).

When the relocation of street vendors became a top priority of the new governor by the end of 2012, the Agency for Cooperatives, Micro-, Small and Medium Enterprises and Trade of DKI Jakarta started negotiations with several malls in Jakarta to accommodate PKL. Unaffordable rents may develop as the main constraining factor, and accordingly the required public financial support. The Street Vendors Association (APKLI) brought to discussion the idea of a minimum one-year rent exemption for the PKL (The Jakarta Post 2012b).

Furthermore, it is reported that the DKI administration is planning to convert buildings of several city agencies into markets to relocate street vendors or move them into low-cost apartments (ibid.). Another intention is to accommodate PKL at 23 street vendor concentration points, for example close to mosques or tourist attractions, where vendors will be provided with trade permits and kiosks or wagons. However, a necessary first step will be to record the number of street vendors, as it is suspected to boom (Berita Jakarta 2013e).

The new government in Jakarta has initiated a fundamental change in policies, as seen in their ambitious attempt to accommodate approximately 300,000 street traders. Though, it remains to be seen whether the new policies will succeed in overcoming the constraints mentioned above.

THE CAKE MARKET PASAR KUE SUBUH AT SENEN MARKET (PASAR SENEN) 3.

The following sections will give a description of the phenomenon of the wholesale cake market *Pasar Kue Subuh* (PKS) in Jakarta, by specifying the history and location of the night market, the market's spatial structure, the economic interplay of its actors, and finally presenting plans for the reconstruction of the Senen Market and possible outcomes for the continuance of the PKS. The description thus aims for providing basic information about the spatial, economic, and institutional context of the PKS vendors' activities.

3.1. HISTORY OF THE PKS AT PASAR SENEN

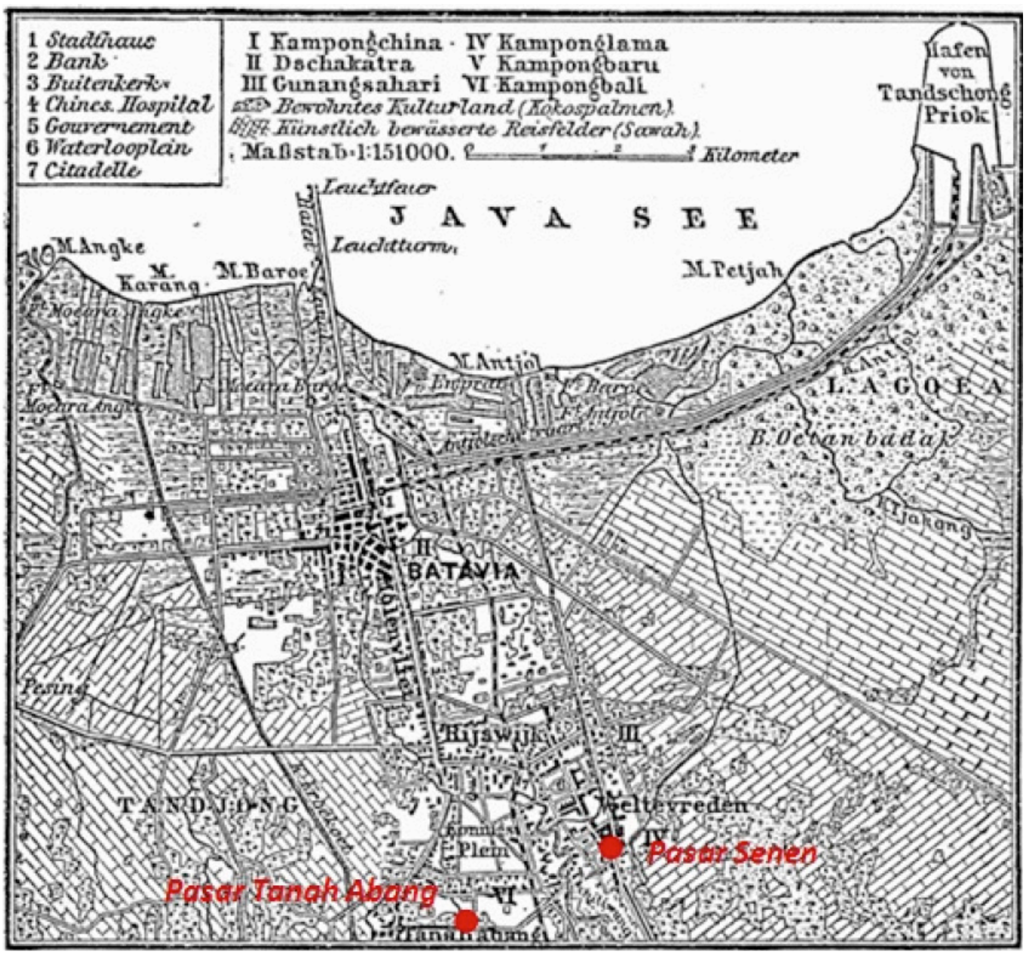
The PKS is located in the open spaces of the Senen Market shopping centre (*Pasar Senen*) in Central Jakarta. The history of the market location is detailed in the following.

- Senen Market (*Pasar Senen*)

Pasar Senen was first constructed in 1733 by the Dutch entrepreneur Justinus C. Vincke (Hasanto 2005). The development took place in the course of Batavia's urban expansion to the south, when the Dutch East India Company developed the 'new Batavia' centre *Weltevreden* and *Konigsplein*. The Senen area had been a rural area, where people from the rural hinterland conducted small scale marketing activities. Vincke, who also owned land south-west of here, was granted licenses to operate *Pasar Senen* on Mondays (*Pasar Senen* means "Monday Market") and a second market, *Pasar Tanah Abang*, initially operating on Sundays. Vincke also ordered the construction of a road to link the two markets (today *Kwitang* Street and *Kebon Sirih* Street) (Harsanto/Santosa 2003) and the construction of the *Kalilio* Canal, to protect the Senen area from floods (Dinas Museum dan Sejarah 1993).

The two markets contributed to the initiation of further urban development in the area. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Senen area became a development local; villas and houses

9 **Batavia in end of the 19th century with the locations of *Pasar Senen* and *Pasar Tanah Abang* indicated (Source: Meyers Konversationslexikon (1885–90), http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Batavia_MKL1888.png)**



9

A **Own observations of one author, who spent her childhood in Central Jakarta.**

9 **Batavia in end of the 19th century with the locations of** ***Pasar Senen*** **and** ***Pasar Tanah Abang*** **indicated (Source: Meyers Konversationslexikon (1885–90), http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karte_Batavia_MKL1888.png)**

were built by Dutch officers along the way from the market to the harbour (Abeyasekere 1989). In addition, the areas adjacent to the *Pasar Senen* became more densely populated as the colonial government introduced a tramway in 1897 which passed *Pasar Senen* and also *Tanah Tinggi*, a Chinese predominated housing area near the *Kalilio* Canal. Chinese people were the first non-Dutch people to settle around the *Pasar Senen* (Hakim 1989, Abeyasekere 1989, Surjomiharjo2000, Silver 2008). There are still a number of Chinese shop-houses in this area, which were built during the colonial time.

The extensive renewal of the *Pasar Senen* area ('*Proyek Senen*') was initiated in the 1960s with the construction of six new buildings ("blocks") and the settling of the Senen Bus Terminal and the daily (food) market on the northern side of the blocks (Harsanto 2005). In the 1990s the Atrium Senen, a business center, was developed on the western side of the new Senen Market blocks (ibid.), replacing the historic Chinese shop-houses.

10

Street vendors became a significant feature of the markets *Pasar Tanah Abang* and *Pasar Senen*. The adjacent open spaces close to *Pasar Senen* have been continuously occupied. For example, since the 1960s both the biggest and well-known 'street book market' in Jakarta and the 'black market', where smuggled goods were offered, established along the street spaces near *Pasar Senen*. Also along the streets, many informal cookshops and food stalls offered gastronomic specialties from different parts of Indonesia. Some of these famous informal markets disappeared with urban renewal projects of Senen area **(A)**.

- History of the cake market *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen*

As the commercial environment of *Pasar Senen* was always attractive for informal vendors, in the beginning of the 1980s, some informal vendors from the Senen area started to sell cake in front of *Pasar Senen* Block III building during the day. Then, due to the large number of day-time vendors and the highly competitive situation, the cake vendors changed their selling time and started to offer their goods after the shops were closed. At first they positioned on the stairs leading to the Block III entrance and as the number of vendors increased they expanded, appropriating the empty parking area in front of the stairs. Today there are approximately 600 cake vendors utilizing mainly the outdoor spaces of the *Pasar Senen* shopping complex.

3.2. LOCATIONAL QUALITY OF THE PKS

The informal PKS wholesale cake market is located at a prominent position in the centre of the city of Jakarta. *Pasar Senen* trade centre is flanked by two main streets, to the north-south and the east-west, and it is directly connected with the Senen Train Station on the east side. The location and transport infrastructure ensure easy accessibility from all directions in Jakarta and other cities in Java.

The site of the cake market is about 1 km away from the central railway station *Gambir*, located east of the National Monument. The mixed-used area on the west and north sides of the *Pasar Senen*/PKS is dominated by commercial activities. The provision of small and large specialty retailers in the area is complementary to, not competitive with, the unique wholesale cake market. These two factors (easy accessibility and the functions of the surrounding area) account for the special attractiveness of the *Pasar Senen*/PKS location.

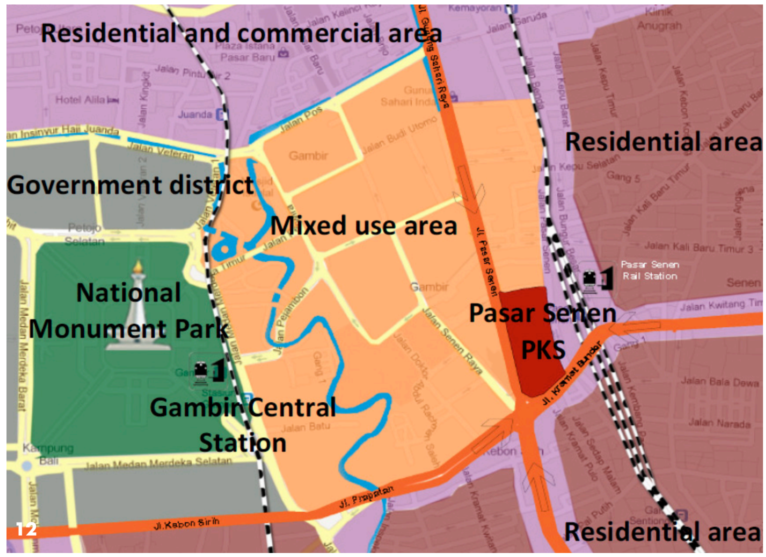
3.3. SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PKS

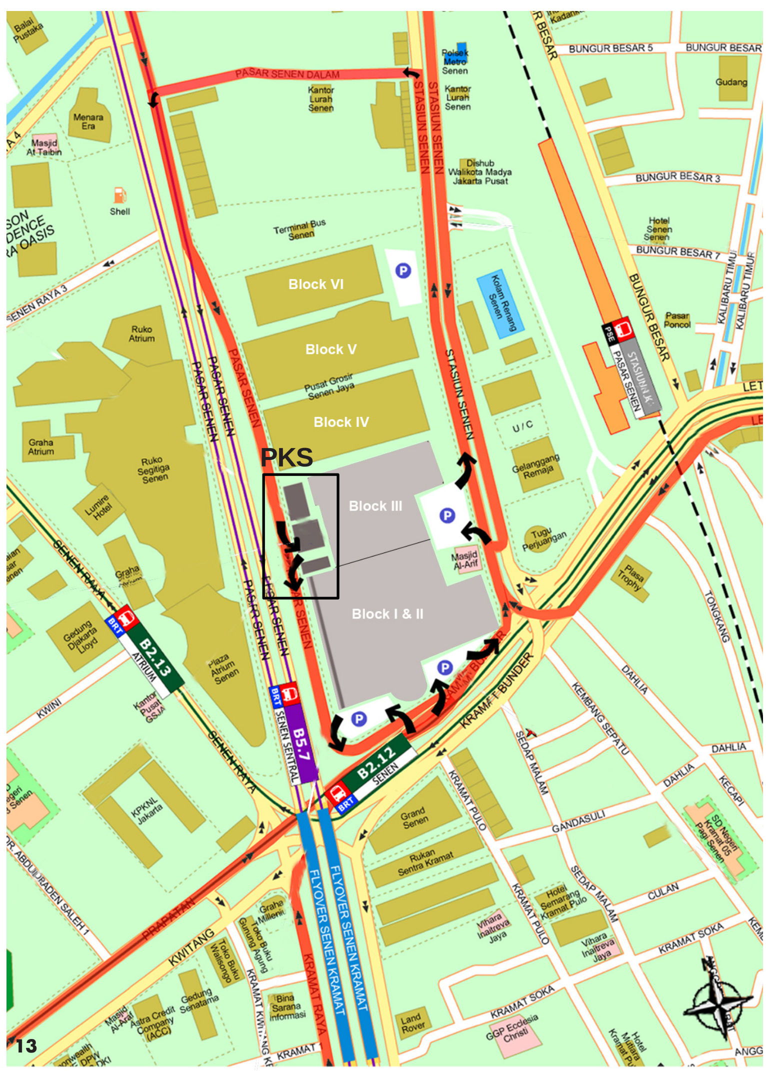
The cake market is located directly to the west of the Senen Market Block III building, on the property of two market operators: *PD Pasar Jaya* and *PT Pembangunan Jaya/Jaya Property* (the market operators will be introduced in section 3.4.). Every evening from 6 pm onwards, the PKS vendors are allowed to occupy the open parking spaces adjacent to the Block III building. According to the land-ownership and the given numbering of the *Pasar Senen* Blocks (Blocks I-VI), the PKS terrain can be subdivided from north to south into PKS IV, PKS III and PKS II.

11 **PKS location in Central Jakarta**

12 **PKS location and neighbouring land uses**

13 **PKS at the *Pasar Senen* complex**

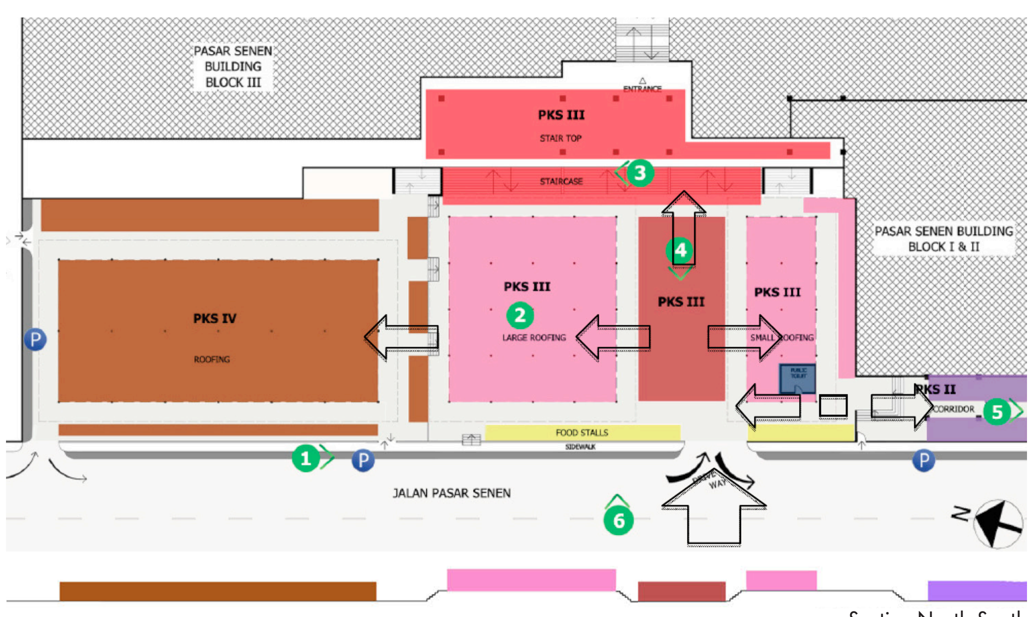




14 Spatial structure and topography of the PKS

15 PKS subareas and entrances

14



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- PKS IV is located on the outdoor area of the roofed motorcycle parking space which is dedicated to Block IV market building users in the daytime. PKS IV is supervised by *Jaya Property*, the market operator of *Pasar Senen* Block IV.

- PKS III is situated at a higher elevation and contains the largest and oldest (core) part of the wholesale cake market. The owner of the property is *PD Pasar Jaya*, the market operator of Block III building. The PKS III terrain can be further subdivided into the following subareas:
a) "PKS III large roofing", where vendors are positioned under, or adjacent to, the large roofed motorcycle parking space,
b) "PKS III small roofing" accommodates vendors under, or adjacent to, the small roofed parking space,
c) "PKS III staircase" contains vendors occupying the uncovered staircase and stair top in front of the Block III entrance, and
d) "PKS III driveway", where vendors compete for space with unloading vehicles and parked motorcycles. The uncovered driveway is located between the PKS III large and small roofing areas.

- PKS II is located in the narrow ground-floor corridor (passageway), which runs through the Block II building for its entire length and connects the PKS terrain with the large parking space south of Block II building. PKS II is supervised by *PT Pembangunan Jaya*, the market operator of the *Pasar Senen* Block II, which belongs to the same consortium of companies as *Jaya Property*.

The main entrance and vehicle access to the site of the cake market (PKS III driveway) is located at Jalan *Pasar Senen* (*Pasar Senen* Street), bordering the PKS to the west. This entrance is directly connected with the limited street parking spaces along the Jalan *Pasar Senen*. A further pedestrian access point is located on the northwest edge of the site. At the southern end of the PKS II corridor lies another main pedestrian entrance, directly connected to the open air parking place on the south of Block II building, managed also by the Block II market operator.

The gently inclined PKS III driveway is the highly frequented and central meeting point of all movement within the market. From here, the flow of goods and PKS users disperse to the other PKS subareas.

The PKS space close to the sidewalk is often utilized by vendors who sell food and drinks for the people at the market.

3.4. ACTORS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

This section takes a closer look at the main PKS actors or beneficiaries. The description will consist of presenting the actors in main subgroups according to their activities and an overview of the different actors using either private or public urban space will be provided.

3.4.1. Senen Market operators

- PD Pasar Jaya

The city-owned market operator *PD Pasar Jaya* has owned and managed the *Pasar Senen* Block III building since 1974 and supervises the PKS III cake market activities taking place on the forecourt of the Block III building. PD stands for *Perusahaan Daerah* or 'Capital City Company'. The market operator is currently managing 153 'traditional markets' (B) in Jakarta (Syukran 2012). Although a public company, the management is bound to operate in an economical, profit-driven manner. According to *PD Pasar Jaya*'s quality assessment, *Pasar Senen* is one of 27 'category A markets' in Jakarta, which serve national trade, have a large economic potential, and are built on land with a high value (The Jakarta Post 2012a). The main objective of the market operator's Block III management is the marketing of the currently 2,592 vendors that are accommodated in indoor kiosks or sales counters.

In addition, the management also provides security, cleaning services, electricity provision, and the maintenance of the infrastructure for approximately 280 vendors of PKS III that are registered with the market operator. The PKS III vendors make daily payments for land use (table fee) and the services (services fee) provided (C) (section 3.5.3. provides more detailed information about the fee system).

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B According to the Presidential Regulation No. 112/2007 a traditional market (TM) is defined as: "A market that is built and managed by the Government, the Regional Governments, Private Entities and Region-Owned Entities, including through cooperation w/private entities with such places of business as stores, kiosks, stalls and tents owned/managed by small or medium traders, community self-reliance or cooperative w/small scale enterprises, small capital and dealing w/commodities through bargaining". Modern markets are: "Independent self-service store that retails a large variety of goods through Minimarkets, Supermarkets, Department Stores, Hypermarkets or grocers that constitute Grocery Stores" (cited in Meliala 2012: 6, 11).

C Interviews with the *PD Pasar Jaya Senen* Manager, 24 September 2012, 19 December 2012.

16 Block III building with PKS IV and PKS III terrain

D **Interview with the Senen Market managers of *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property*, 6 September 2012.**

E **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012.**

F **Interview with the *PD Pasar Jaya Senen* Manager, 24 September 2012, 19 December 2012.**

- *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property*

PT Pembangunan Jaya is the market operator of *Pasar Senen* Block I/II and administers the PKS II, which is accommodated in the ground floor passage way of the Block II building. The company is a joint venture on the part of Jakarta Capital City Province (DKI) and a private developer. Starting in the beginning of the 1970s, the company has since constructed Block I/II, IV and V buildings. While *PT Pembangunan Jaya* became the owner of the buildings, DKI remained owner of the land. Though the land-use right of the company was initially limited for 20 years, it has been regularly renewed. Block I/II building contains 1,100 kiosks, offering fabrics, clothes, shoes, uniforms, advertising, watches, and glasses.

Jaya Property is a subsidiary of the *PT Pembangunan Jaya* joint venture dedicated to the real estate business. In 2009, the company reconstructed *Pasar Senen* Block IV, now containing the market '*Pusat Grosir Senen Jaya*' (central wholesale market) with 1,165 units mainly selling watches, eye glasses, toys, electronics, handbags, and cellular phones. In 2011, the construction of a commercial bridge on behalf of *Jaya Property* was added to the new Block IV, crossing *Pasar Senen* Street and connecting Block IV with the 'Atrium Senen' shopping center on the western side. The new multi-use commercial bridge '*Jembatan Multiguna Senen Jaya*' contains 130 kiosks. *Jaya Property* will continue the redevelopment of the Senen Market area with the reconstruction of Block V which once served as the largest car spare market in Asia. The company provided land for the PKS IV, which was established at the end of the 1990s on the terrain of the motorcycle parking area associated with Block IV, directly adjoining the area of PKS III.

The two companies do not intervene in the management of the approximately 210 vendors of PKS II and IV, but make services and electricity available and coordinate security issues with the police and other stakeholders who provide for security. Similar to the neighbouring PKS III, vendors are required to pay a rental fee and a services charge to the two companies **(D)**.

- Fee collectors

The market operators employ fee collectors. For example, a fee collector is assigned by *PD Pasar Jaya* to retrieve the table and services fees from the PKS III vendors nightly **(E)** (section 3.5.3. provides more detailed information about the fee system).

3.4.2. Vendors

The central focus of this research is on the approximate 600 vendors at the PKS. The PKS is predominantly self-organized by vendors and their representatives and operates bet-

G **Interview with the Senen Market managers of *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property*, 6 September 2012.**

H **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012.**

I **Interview with the female representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 24 September 2012.**

ween 6 o'clock in the evening until 7 o'clock in the morning. The duration of each vendor's presence varies between 3 and 11 hours per night (selling times and selling shifts are detailed in section 5.2.2.). Cake vendors are, to a large extent, both producers and wholesalers marketing their goods for retail. Vendors' positioning can be divided into 3 subgroups: PKS III, which accommodates about 300 vendors (60% of Chinese origin **(F)**), and PKS II+IV where approximately 250 vendors are positioned **(G)**. PKS vendors create various income opportunities, like the employment of workers for production and selling activities, and purchasing cake from self-employed suppliers. Vendors and their PKS business differ according to various attributes that are described in detail in Chapter 4.

- PKS III Association of Vendors: *Persatuan Pedagang Kue Subuh Senen* (PPKSS)

About 260 PKS vendors (a majority of the 300 total) are members of the Vendors Association PPKSS, which was founded and notarially certified in 2004. The association provides structures for self-organization and maintains regular contact and a good relationship with the property owner and market operator, *PD Pasar Jaya*. The well-known head of the association, one of the first PKS vendors, acts as an intermediary between PKS III vendors and the market operator, thus facilitating advocacy of vendors' interests. The market operator is also a member of the association. The association makes the common purchase of tables available and helps to settle disputes between vendors. Although the market operator takes care of the physical infrastructure and certain services, the vendors themselves initiated and co-financed the roofing of the PKS III terrain. In the first years, members paid a weekly member contribution of Rp 3,000 (€ 0.24) for fire insurance and death grant. In case of death, an amount of Rp 1 million (€ 80) was paid off, and Rp 300,000 (€ 24) in case of a disease. But, when the leader of the association refused to continue the collecting of contributions, the insurance was cancelled and the charging of membership fees was stopped **(H)**. In general, the relationship among PKS III vendors is described as good. In case a vendor is ill, the association can be asked for assistance, such as a donation **(I)**.

- Vendors' representatives of PKS II and PKS IV

PKS II and IV vendors are not organised into a formal body. However, two respective vendors have been assigned by the market operators to take care of the organizational issues of the relevant part of PKS, such as the extension of mutual arrangements, securing cleanliness and monitoring compliance with occupancy limits (they are not allowed to extend the number of

J Interview with vendor Sari, 23 September 2012.

K Own observations and interview with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September 2012.

selling positions for additional vendors). Vendors aiming to acquire a selling position first have to come to an agreement with the respective representative and other vendors involved. The representatives also maintain communication with the market operators.

- Saving groups for female vendors

Usually female vendors at the PKS become members of self-organized rotational women's saving groups (*arisan*), led by reliable females (J). *Arisan* groups will also be described in section 5.4., focusing on the consolidation of female vendors and how this is affected by economic factors and precautions. There is strong evidence that the majority of female PKS vendors and workers are involved in a network of many *arisan* groups, as saving groups are deeply rooted in the Javanese culture and have proven to protect the poor from the high interest rates of moneylenders. In addition to their saving and credit role, *arisan* groups ,in many cases, have an even more important social role of bringing people together (Grootaert 1999).

- PKS street vendors

Street vendors operating outside the PKS are not common. At night, only a few cake vendors regularly spread out on sidewalks along *Pasar Senen* Street, close to the PKS III entrance and its driveway. Likewise, two or three street vendors offering cigarettes and beverages from mobile carts occupy places, choosing the same position every night. Although the area adjacent to the PKS III driveway is considered a key location with regard

17

17 Vendors at PKS IV

L **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September, 27 October 2012.**

18 **PKS street vendors**

19 **Unloading of a *Bajai***

18

to easy delivery and a high number of people passing by, selling positions on public spaces are known for being more vulnerable to harassment and financial claims, like the extortion of protection money by gangs or presenting gifts to the police and local government leaders. In any case, here street vendors have to negotiate fees for the temporary land use with a far greater number of stakeholders than vendors positioning on the (private) PKS terrain (**K**).

3.4.3. 'Coolies'

The PKS vendors who make use of tables are usually assisted by porters who act as self-account workers or associated working groups (e.g. *Kulis Serang*). Porters, or 'coolies', set up tables before the vendors arrive, and take down and store the bulky equipment at the market area when the PKS operating

19

M **Interview with the female representative of the PPKSS, 24 September 2012 and own observations in September 2012.**

N **Interviews with the** *PD Pasar Jaya Senen* **Manager, 24 September 2012, 19 December 2012 and interview with the Senen Market managers of** *PT Pembangunan Jaya* **and** *Jaya Property***, 6 September 2012.**

20 **Porter**

21 **Porter**

hours end. They also assist vendors with unloading and carrying goods. The price for the table service depends on the rent for storage area. For the associated PKS III vendors, two storage rooms in Block III building are rented by the porters, costing Rp 1.5 million per year (€ 120). Accordingly, together with the representatives of the vendors association, the coolies negotiated the price of Rp 3,000 (€ 0.24) to be paid per table for the use of the table service. The price must be adjusted if the rent to be paid to the market operator increases **(L)**. The 'coolies' also charge for helping to carry loads. For example, the expenses for the unloading of a *bajai* (three-wheeled motorized vehicle) add up to Rp 15,000 (€ 1.20), depending on the load. Help with the carrying of loads is a matter of negotiating, for example a vendor may give Rp 2,000 (€ 0.16) for carrying two plastic baskets to the selling spot **(M)**.

3.4.4. Security personnel

- Private security staff at PKS terrain

Security workers employed by the respective market operators provide surveillance which is mainly restricted to the PKS terrain; they do not cover activities outside the property boundaries. However, the respective market management cooperates with the police. The security service is included in the services fee every vendor is obligated to pay to the market operator **(N)**.

- ORMAS Banten security guards

According to vendors and the representatives of the PKS III vendor association, several years ago the security situation at the PKS was perceived as risky because of petty theft **(O)**. The whole Senen Market environment (containing the Senen Market blocks, the Senen Train Station, and the Senen Bus Terminal) had a bad reputation and was even described as the "Bronx" of Jakarta **(P)**. But nowadays, the security is rated as more secure since the ethnic militia group ORMAS Banten cares for surveillance **(Q)**. Originally, ORMAS Banten was a mass organisation (ORMAS *organisasi kemasyaratkatan* = community organization) of Banten people in Jakarta (Banten Family Potential Administration Board (BPPKB)) being assisted by a militia group. Different ORMAS groups operate throughout Jakarta (Wilson/Nugroho 2012). Occasionally ORMAS Banten security guards are called *preman* by PKS vendors ("outside are the *preman*" **(R)**) - a colloquial term for a thug - and ask for money for the provision of security **(S)**. Street vendors, shop owners, and minivan drivers at markets throughout the city say that paying 'security fees' to thugs and street bosses is business as usual (The Jakarta Post 2010). PKS vendors are advised to pay a voluntary protection fee to ORMAS Banten of Rp 1,000 (€ 0.08) per day, transferred by the PKS fee collector, and hence are burdened twice for security services **(T)**.

3.4.5. Parking attendants

- Parking attendants at Block III driveway (PKS III)

During PKS operating hours, parking space for motorcycles is provided at the Block III driveway in front of the Block III building. Here, motorcycle parking is supervised by three attendants employed by *PD Pasar Jaya* market operator. Due to the bustle of unloading activities of motorcycles, trucks, and cars on the driveway, parking space for motorcycles gets rather cramped in the peak hours and has to be defended by the attendants. Adding to the congestion are motorcycle drivers who aim to load their vehicles here before leaving. Nevertheless, the attendants

O **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012; interview with vendor Arti, 24 September 2012.**

P **Interview with a representative of the Division for Urban Spatial Planning at the Department of Spatial Planning (*Dinas Tata Ruang*), Jakarta Capital City Government (DKI), 4 September 2012.**

Q **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012; interview with vendor Arti, 24 September 2012.**

R **Interview with vendor Arti, 24 September 2012.**

S **According to Wilson, *Preman* now can be found not only in street corner gangs but also in mass organizations with thousands of members. Their leaders often have close connections with political elites (Wilson 2008).**

T **Information provided by PKS vendors who wished to remain anonymous.**

U Own observations, September 2012.

V Interview with vendor Cahaya, 22 September 2012.

W Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012; interview with the female representative of the PPKSS, 24 September 2012 and own observations in September 2012.

22 Parking attendant at the PKS driveway

23 Loaded motorcycle

24 Vegetable vendors at the PKS driveway

direct the allocation of space in a flexible manner, tailored to the needs of their motorcycle clients and unloading trucks, or to additional vendors looking for a chance of accommodation on the driveway. Therefore, the space dedicated to motorcycle parking alternately increases and decreases throughout the night and finally shrinks to its minimum in the early morning when the increasing rush of vendors try to occupy every tiny piece of space on the driveway, which is obviously tolerated by the 'driveway managers'. Parking for cars and trucks is provided at the huge *Pasar Senen* parking area south of the Block I/II building, where clients have to pay regular parking fees to the personnel at the entrance cash points **(U)**.

- *Orang Serang* - street parking attendants

During the day, *Pasar Senen* Street, which is passing the PKS and its main entrance along the western side, is a dedicated no-parking zone. However, during the PKS operation times, parking along both sides of the street is tolerated and supervised by parking attendants called *Orang Serang* (people from Serang). There is a strong demand for parking space close to the PKS III entrance and its driveway, which has to be coordinated with a high frequency of loading and unloading vehicles on the

25 **Street parking attendants**

driveway. Fees for parking on the street (about RP 5,000 (€ 0.40) per vehicle per night **(V)**) have to be negotiated with *Orang Serang* attendants, similar to fees for having a parking space reserved. Local authorities tolerate the *Orang Serang* activities and the police regularly check whether parked vehicles have left in the morning **(W)**. There is strong evidence that the street parking attendants have to cooperate with the militia of ORMAS Banten, as both groups are acting on public spaces together with the police and local authority leaders.

26 **PKS cleaning staff**

27 Waste container

28 Refuse collector

29 Scavenger

X Vendors' names have been anonymized.

Y The vendor's name in brackets refers to the personal interview with 5 female vendors and the female representative of the vendors association; the number behind the name indicates the line number of the interview's transcription.

3.4.6. Cleaning services

Cleaning personnel employed by the market operators regularly sweep up the waste off the ground with brooms and frequently clear away the waste that is carelessly discarded by vendors and customers. The waste is collected in light containers for easy lifting and then carried to a temporary disposal place until it is picked up by a municipal waste disposer before 7 am. The cleaning of the street and sidewalks is taken care of by municipal cleaning personnel. Furthermore, scavengers operate on the streets as well as on PKS terrain, collecting recyclable materials.

3.4.7. Transportation services

Vendors, customers, and suppliers who do not use private transport for shopping or delivery of their goods to the PKS can rely on numerous small-scale transport service providers opera-

30 Unloading trucks, driveway

31 *Bajai*s waiting for customers

ting throughout Jakarta. They can choose between several options of hiring vehicles (with drivers) such as motorcycle, *bajai* (three-wheeled motorized vehicle), taxi, or *microlet* (privately operated minibus usually accommodating up to 10 passengers). One example is vendor Sari (X), who has no car available during the day time. She usually gets her ingredients for the cake production delivered to her home. In the case that she urgently lacks something, she can call a certain *bajai*-driver whom she can trust to purchase the ingredients for her (Sari, 76-78) (Y). If her husband can't drive her to the PKS at 2:00 am, she hires a whole *microlet* for Rp 20,000 (€ 1.60), which can take all her goods to the PKS in one trip (Sari, 207-208). Since vendors, and of course customers, make use of numerous transport service providers, the entrance and street space in front of the PKS III driveway is regularly blocked by vehicles stopping briefly for passenger transport as well as loading or unloading. In addition, *bajai*s waiting for their next customers stay in the street space (Z).

3.4.8. Other services and beneficiaries

A 24-hour sanitary facility is situated at the south-western edge of PKS III area and is operated by a private enterprise, charging a usage fee between Rp 1,000 and 2,000 (€ 0.08-0.16). The sanitary block contains four toilets serving all PKS parts (AA).

There is at least one self-employed water vendor who uses tapped water in the Block III building to provide fresh water to vendors wanting to clean their cooking or selling equipment onsite (AB).

Sidewalks along *Pasar Senen* Street are occasionally occupied by music groups performing with amplifiers who stay in position during PKS opening hours and mobile music groups crisscross the PKS, asking for donations (AC).

Beggars and street children (often called 'little thieves') regularly pass by or invade the PKS terrain asking vendors for any kind of contribution (AD).

3.4.9. Actors and occupation of open spaces

Figure 32 gives a summary of PKS beneficiaries present either temporarily or permanently during PKS operating hours. The overview indicates a predominant allocation of actors to either private or public open spaces, despite the fact that most actors move between the two categories of spaces. Customers and user groups standing and walking about, not really positioning themselves, do not fit into this scheme.

3.4.10. Actors and their economic connectivity

Considering their economic relations and dependencies, one can conclude that PKS vendors act as the core players in

Z Own observations in September 2012.

AA Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September, 27 October 2012 and own observations.

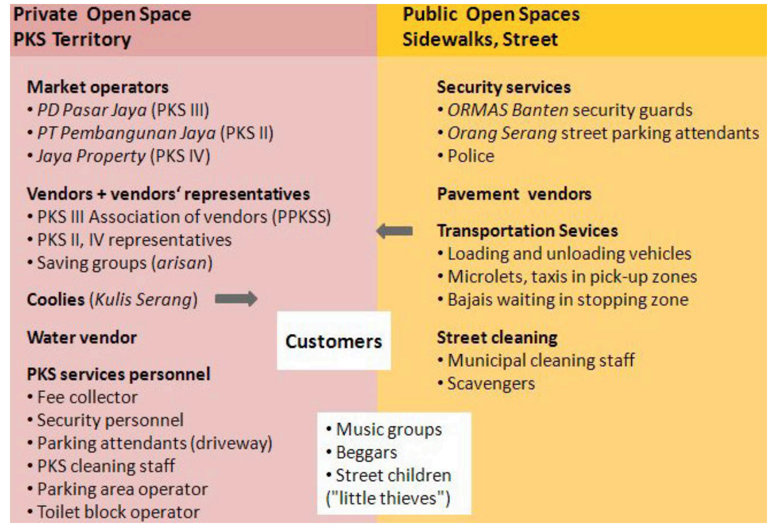
AB Interview with vendor Julia, 23 September 2012.

AC Own observation in September 2012.

AD Interviews with vendor Julia, 23 September 2012; vendor Cahaya, 22 September 2012 and vendor Ari, September 24 2012.

32 PKS actors and their positioning on private and public open space

33 PKS actors and flow of payments



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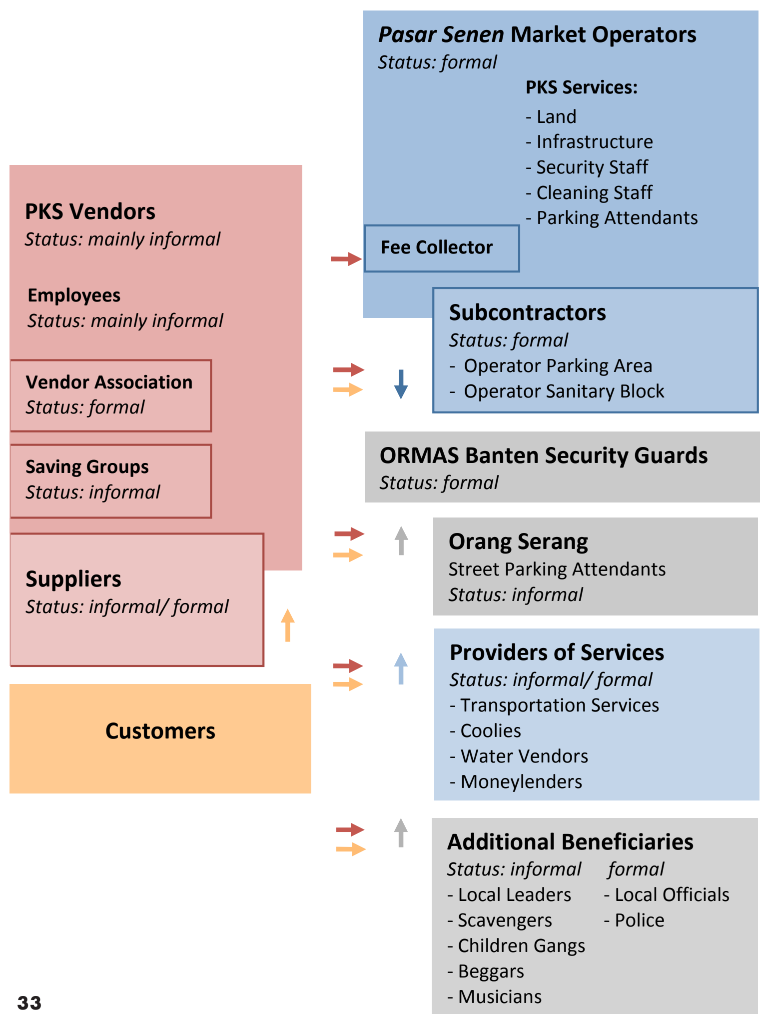

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AE **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September, 27 October 2012.**

AF **Interview with the Senen Market managers of** *PT Pembangunan Jaya* **and** *Jaya Property*, **6 September 2012.**

an economically interactive PKS beneficiaries' network which is presented in Figure 33 and summarized below. First, the market operators receive a financial contribution from the PKS vendors. For example, *PD Pasar Jaya* generates a guaranteed daily revenue of Rp 1.8 million (€ 225) from PKS III vendors, transferred by the fee collector. For this fee, the market operators provide the land and electricity, and employ fee collectors, security staff, parking attendants, and cleaning personnel to care for the PKS. Second, the market operators receive rent payments from the subcontracted operators of the Senen Market parking areas and the PKS III sanitary block.

Vendors, customers and suppliers generate income for workers (employed by vendors and suppliers), as well as for 'coolies', transportations services, PKS parking attendants, the informal street parking attendants, the parking area operators, and the operator of the sanitary block. Moreover, vendors demand services from water vendors and provide local leaders as well as the police with voluntary gifts. That is, new PKS entrants are expected to make their debut by giving donations to public amenities, like the mosque, and to local government leaders. People who are expecting something will come around to collect it **(AE)**. In case of financial difficulties, vendors can make use of money lending services. Apart from vendors, there is strong evidence that ORMAS Banten security guards benefit from gifts or payments, contributed by all self-account PKS business actors.

Other user groups like scavengers, beggars and the street children profit from the PKS economic network in its entirety.

3.5. ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACCESS AND UTILIZATION

The following sections provide an overview of formalized agreements among the PKS stakeholders with regard to access and utilization of the land. Other de facto rules for access, and details on the allocation of space and positioning practices are described in Chapter 4 and 5.

3.5.1. Legality of the land use and contractual agreements

DKI Jakarta (Special Capital Territory), the prominent venture partner of the market operators at Senen Market, owns the six blocks of land that *Pasar Senen* is situated on. DKI leases the land-use rights for the designated commercial use of Senen Market to the market operators of Block IV, III and I/II for a limited period of years, which are usually renewed.

The temporary use of the open space in front of Block III building for the nightly cake market (PKS III and IV) is granted by two kinds of permissions on the part of DKI authorities.

AG **Interview with the Senen Market manager of *PD Pasar Jaya*, 19 December 2012.**

AH **Interview with the Senen Market managers of *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property*, 6 September 2012.**

34 **PKS III registration card**

The first grant, stipulated by the DKI Department of Urban Development, permits the temporary location of vendors (*kios penampungan sementara*). The second permission, stipulated by the DKI Department for Tourism Development, justifies the temporary land-use for the PKS and its expansion for the purpose of strengthening tourism in the area. Both temporary land-use permissions are limited to two years (AF). Hence, if need be, the permission for the PKS land use can either be stopped by the local authorities or extended in a flexible manner.

In PKS III, vendors have no written contractual agreement with the *PD Pasar Jaya* market operator. Their status is comparable to the users of the parking area, who are paying a fee for the temporary land use (AG). Even though the nightly utilization of parking space by PKS III vendors has never been safeguarded in a contractual manner, the duration of the PKS use totals to a period of more than 25 years. This appears to indicate that both vendors and the market operator derive a benefit from the PKS use.

In PKS II and IV, *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property* have always granted oral consents instead of written contracts to the PKS vendors in the past, as the market operators were afraid to be confronted by vendors with requirements that could not be fulfilled. Similar to PKS III, the PKS II and IV management is primarily self-organised; that is, the PKS vendors themselves control new entrants with the assistance of two vendors' representatives. However, the market operators consider their own role to safeguard the uncontrolled growth of vendors, which might cause social conflicts if they have to clear the area. The motive behind permitting PKS use of their property is the desire to vitalize the deserted area at night. At the same time, however, precautions are taken to restrict the "boomerang effect" of uncontrolled vendor growth. *Jaya Property* wants to be prepared for forthcoming land-use changes to be issued by the DKI urban

34

AI **Interviews with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September, 26 September and 27 October 2012.**

planning department. Therefore, contracts with PKS vendors, who eventually have to clear the land, are disliked **(AH)**.

3.5.2. Formal requirements for obtaining access to a selling place at PKS III

As the PKS is fully occupied, a vendor searching for a selling position first has to identify a vacant place and second, has to negotiate the (informal) compensation payment for the position with the vendor who wants to leave the PKS (section 3.5.3). After a price for the place transfer has been arranged, the new entrant must apply for a registration card (*Kartu Pengenal Pedagang Kue Subuh*) issued by the market operator, either *PD Pasar Jaya* (responsible for PKS III) or *Jaya Property/ PT Pembangunan Jaya* (responsible for PKS IV and II). The market operator has to be informed about every vendor change, requiring the costly issuing of a new registration card (Rp 500,000 (€ 40)) (Julia, 110). To receive a registration card, the entrant has to prove that the position is not occupied and present the identity card (KTP Kartu Tanda Penduduk). The registration card has to be renewed every year at a cost of Rp 200,000 (€ 16). By the end of September 2012, the renewal of the registration for the forthcoming year unusually had not been initiated yet (Sari, 113). The registration card is the formal document proving a kind of occupancy right for the respective vendor holding information such as the vendor's name, place of residence, the position (according to numbered tables), and the registration period. However, informal agreements among vendors often elude the regulation by temporarily subletting tables to one another. In PKS III, most vendors join the vendors' association although the market operator does not require this.

3.5.3. Fee system and compensation payments at PKS III

- Table fees and services fees

Since the 1980s, the cake vendors have had to pay a fee to the parking attendants assigned by *PD Pasar Jaya*. While the number of vendors grew, *PD Pasar Jaya* introduced a fee (*restribusi*) for occupying the site from the 1990s onwards, a regulation which is still valid today. What changed over the years, however, is the amount of the payment required. Currently, the fee collector, who is employed by the market operator, cashes the table fee of Rp 5,000 (€ 0.40) per table as well as the service fee of Rp 3,000 (€ 0.24) per vendor, per night for the provision of electricity, cleaning, and PKS security staff. He is required to transfer a daily guaranteed revenue of Rp 1.8 million (€ 154) from PKS III vendors to the company. Vendors who are not present do not have to pay. Therefore the PKS III collector has to make up for

35 PKS III fees and costs

35

AJ **Interview with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September 2012.**

AK **Street vendors being relocated in a market building operated by *PD Pasar Jaya* will be charged at Rp 550,000 (€ 44) per square meter per year and the service fee between Rp 2,500 (€ 0.20) and Rp 5,000 (€ 0.40) per day (Berita Jakarta 2013b).**

losses himself if only a few vendors are present but also earns the surplus in nights when many vendors are present. Vendors can also negotiate their contribution with the collector. In addition to the table and service fee, the collector receives the voluntary security fee of Rp 1,000 (€ 0.08) per vendor per night to be transferred to ORMAS Banten security guards **(AI)**. Tables are the property of the vendors, often purchased as a bulk order by the vendors association. Figure 35 gives an overview of PKS III fees, additional payments and the receivers of the payments.

In contrast to PKS III, table fees at PKS IV and II have to be paid either daily or monthly, no matter if the vendor is present or not. Here, prices differ according to the quality of the infrastructure: for a selling position without roof cover, vendors must pay Rp 100,000 (€ 8) per table/month, whereas a roofed position costs Rp 300,000 (€ 24) per table/month. This makes the average daily rate of Rp 10,000 (€ 0.80) for roofed positions at PKS IV twice as high as at PKS III, whereas the obligatory service fee for cleaning, electricity, and security is the same (Julia, 145-146).

- Compensation payments for the transfer of selling positions

In order to gain access to a new selling position, the new entrant must negotiate a compensation payment with the vendor who wants to leave. Thus, the transfer of a selling position (or, in other words, its 'land-use right') is priced in negotiations between vendors based on the individually perceived attractiveness of the place and taking into account the sympathy between the bargaining partners. As a result, compensation payments for a table position currently vary between 2 and 13 million rupiahs (€ 160-1,000). The increasing number of vendors has also driven up prices over the years. In the early stages, vendors paid as little as Rp 50,000 (€ 4) for a place **(AJ)**. For example, in 1992 vendor Sari paid Rp 750,000 (€ 60) for a table's place in the PKS II corridor (Sari, 108-109). Then, in 2005 she paid Rp 1.5 million (€ 120) for her current position under the small roofing of PKS III, and in 2011 she extended her selling space by purchasing a place for a second table for Rp 3.5 million (€ 280) (Sari, 22-23). In this vendor's particular case, within just 6 years the price for a table's place at the same location more than doubled. Vendor Cahaya is running 8 tables at the PKS III and knows that the minimum charge is around Rp 7 million (€ 560) and "good" places are compensated for by an amount between Rp 10-13 million (€ 800-1,040) (Cahaya, 98). Vendor Wira shared that worse places "in the back" cost approximately Rp 2 million (€ 160) (Wira, 52-53) **(AK)**.

3.5.4. Concluding remarks on the PKS informality

The PKS is located on private land, temporarily rented out

AL **Legal basis of the revitalization programme: Perpres 112/2007, Permendag 53/2008and *Perda* Perpasaran (Suhendro 2010).**

to approximately 600 cake traders who organize the allocation of spaces themselves and interact with both formal and informal institutions. Summarizing the arrangements which regulate access and utilisation of the PKS territory and also considering the players and their economic and spatial connectivity, the question arises whether the urban phenomenon of the wholesale cake market should be labelled "informal", because a distinct classification as "formal" is apparently not that easily possible.

According to Altrock's approach to conceptualising informality (2012), "informal" urban phenomena are "complex systems of people and things with different status and people acting and interacting in manifold ways" (Altrock 2012, 180). In order to prevent a rash classification of a phenomenon's informality, he proposes to properly analyse the phenomenon according to the three foci of the formality-informality distinction: status, action, and interaction (ibid., 179). Applying his approach, the PKS land, the physical fabrics, and the market operators have a legal status whereas the cake vendors' business status, on average, is illegal (for example, many do not pay value-added tax and do not possess a trader's licence). However, the vendors' temporary appropriation of the land is legal, permitted and registered by the property owner (market operator) and is based on the authorisation of the temporary land use by the city administration. The formalisation process of the appropriation is the result of negotiations between the stakeholders which might be revocable each time the temporary permission of the property owner or the city administration expires. The interactions between the property owner and the vendors are based on non-binding implicit or verbal arrangements. The PKS vendors rely on informal and temporary arrangements providing for an uncertain tenancy. Thus, the occupancy is secure as long as the market operator is committed to the PKS business.

Apart from the informal nature of arrangements between vendors and the landowners, the entire economic network of PKS actors and beneficiaries involves different types of institutions ranging from formal to informal status; for example, the police as well as the ORMAS Banten militia. A brief examination of the interacting formal and informal institutions shows the difficulty of simply denoting the PKS as either formal or informal.

Altrock therefore concludes that the close ties between the formal and the informal spheres prevail spatially and generate hybrid forms of interactions, involving "individually temporary or longer-lasting border crossing between more formal and more informal sphere and modes" (ibid., 180).

Thus, the PKS can be characterised as an urban phenomenon; its land use-right is legalised on demand, where individuals

AM Pemerintah Propinsi DKI Jakarta 2006.

AN Newsidx.com, 7-11-2012: *Jaya Property* Rejuvenates *Pasar Senen*. http://newsidx.com/en/news/112/jaya-property-rejuvenates-pasar-senen (accessed 15 March 2013).

AO Interview with vendor Arti, 24 September 2012.

AP Vendors' opinion received during the questionnaire in September 2012.

36 Vision of the UDGL for the Senen area (Source: Pemerintah Propinsi DKI Jakarta 2006)

and formal and informal institutions temporarily and simultaneously interact as long as their interaction results in a positive cost-benefit balance.

3.6. REDEVELOPMENT PLANS – FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE PKS

For the last 10 years, the City of Jakarta and the city-owned traditional market operator *PD Pasar Jaya* have been committed to revitalizing traditional markets to better compete with modern supermarkets and shopping centres **(AL)**. This mission of the


36

city council has also been supported by other investors who want to take part in the reconstruction process. At the Senen Market shopping complex (*Pasar Senen*), where the PKS is situated, revitalization of the deteriorating market constructions is embedded in the urban redevelopment project for the entire Senen Market area. This urban renewal project includes the *Pasar Senen*, the adjacent commercial areas, as well as the Senen Train Station and the Senen Bus Terminal. In 2006, 'Urban Design Guidelines' (UDGL) were stipulated by the urban planning administration **(AM)** to steer the redevelopment of the Senen area. As described before (section 3.4.), the reconstruction of the new Block IV building and the addition of the new commercial bridge on behalf of the developer *Jaya Property* have lead the way in implementing the redevelopment plans which will soon be followed by the reconstruction of Block III building.

In 2012, *Jaya Property* and *PD Pasar Jaya* signed a memorandum of understanding to reconstruct the *Pasar Senen* Block III building that authorizes *Jaya Property* to act as the responsible developer. According to the corporate secretary of *Jaya Property*, the expenses for the reconstruction will be entirely paid by *Jaya Property*. Currently, the company management and *PD Pasar Jaya* are still discussing details about the investment volume, the design, and the cooperation scheme. This discussion should be completed 12 months after the memorandum was signed and lead to a cooperation deal (AN).

The vendors have been aware of the reconstruction endeavour for the last 10 years and it became obvious with the new Block IV building and the commercial bridge. Due to the fact that PKS vendors are not treated like tenants of inside kiosks (e.g. the arrangement to utilize the outdoor parking area of Block III building for PKS III and IV is not backed by a written contract), the PKS vendors don't have any security of being allowed further use of the PKS terrain in front of Block III building. This status is well known among the vendors and they feel uncertain whether they can continue their PKS business. They doubt that they will be able to pay the rents for the more expensive selling space inside the new building, because of their low profit (AO). Only a few vendors of the PKS III are optimistic that the cake market will be preserved (AP). While kiosk tenants are entitled to approve renovation plans of their respective markets according to a city bylaw (AQ), PKS vendors do not even have the right to participate and therefore depend on the good will of the market operators.

The interviews conducted with the *PD Pasar Jaya Senen* management revealed that the market operator of PKS III is concerned with the preservation of the PKS and how best to integrate the cake wholesalers in the reconstructed Block III building. The market management is keen to redesign the PKS space in a clean and more attractive manner and deliberates about whether to include the design expertise of architects. The market manager aims for a 'modern' and technically feasible PKS design, either located inside or outside the new building. He is personally motivated to achieve a more attractive appearance of the PKS since he was previously awarded for his efforts as the manager of two other markets, which were successfully ranked as the best markets in Indonesia. He also appreciates the PKS vendors' endeavours to generate income and provide employment. The market operator benefits from the PKS as the wholesalers are very reliable in paying their fees in cash every day. Because of these circumstances, *PD Pasar Jaya Senen* management is interested in the preservation of the PKS at or adjacent to Block III building (AR).

The market management's attitude is confirmed by the representative of the PKS III vendors association PPKSS, who was invited to attend meetings called by *PD Pasar Jaya* relating to the reconstruction of Block III building. He is convinced that the market management will not omit the interests of PKS vendors. But, he also fears the possibility of being relocated to the basement of the new Block III building because the use of indoor spaces will increase the vendors' rent expenses, while their income will not increase, or may even decrease. The PPKSS representative is further concerned about issues stemming from

AQ **According to this bylaw, 60 per cent of vendors should approve the plans (Arditya 2012).**

AR **Interviews and discussions with the market manager of *PD Pasar Jaya Senen*, 24 September and 19 December 2012.**

AS **Interview with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 8 September 2012.**

AT **Interview with the Senen Market managers of *PT Pembangunan Jaya* and *Jaya Property*, 6 September 2012.**

AU **Interview with the representative of the PKS III vendor association PPKSS, 26 and 27 October 2012.**

selling inside, as here the PKS vendors would be more bound to regulations they could not decide on and loose flexibility **(AS)**.

For *PT Pembangunan Jaya/ Jaya Property*, the market operators of Block I, II, IV and V, the preservation of PKS is not a matter of particular interest. PKS vendors are treated as short-time users of the outdoor parking space. The market operators do not feel they have to meet obligations to integrate PKS vendors' interests in the redevelopment actions like they would for indoor kiosk renters **(AT)**.

Since the PKS III and IV are located on the parking area in front of the Block III Senen Market building, the PKS terrain will be massively affected by the reconstruction of Block III building. *PD Pasar Jaya* will provide the vendors with more detailed information on the reconstruction activities of Block III building in 2013 **(AU)**. Future prospects of the PKS location will remain unclear until then. Due to a large proportion of informal agreements and an insufficient planning security for the PKS vendors, the continuance of the PKS appears to be rather vulnerable when the redevelopment of the entire *Pasar Senen* area will be implemented. Finally, the continuance will largely depend on the willingness of the market operators.

ATTRIBUTES OF VENDORS 4.

The statistical analysis focuses on various attributes of the vendors: socio-demographic attributes such as age, house hold size, and education and also market-related attributes such as satisfaction with the place occupied by the booth, length of time selling at PKS, turnover, and structure of the business. These attributes are discussed first in relation to gender and secondly are compared between different groups (e.g. established or 'successful') or by the impact of the Asian economic crisis.

The chapter ends with an analysis of the spatial relations within the market and maps this analysis onto the PKS space and the city Jakarta and its surroundings.

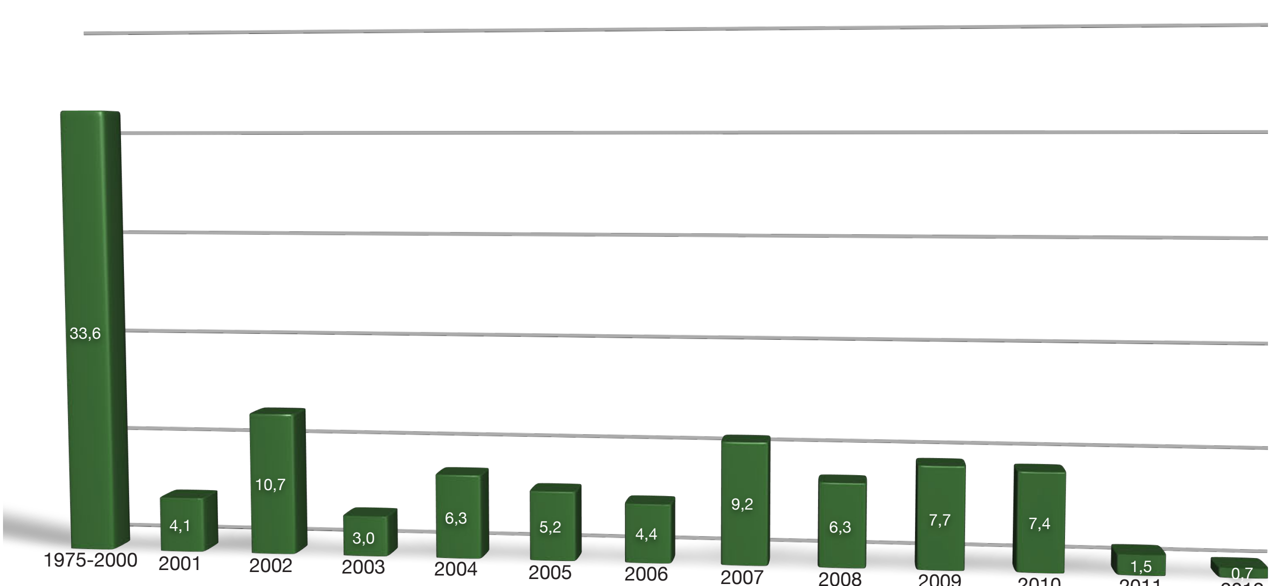
4.1. GENDER DIFFERENCES

- Attendance (duration) at the PKS

The year of initial attendance of vendors interviewed at the *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* (PKS) spreads between 1975 and 2012; nearly 22% before the Asian economic crisis in 1997 and one third between 1975 and 2000, while more than half of the vendors have only begun attending the market in the last 9 years: (Figure 37)

It is quite striking that in the last two years, the number of new vendors attending PKS is lower than ever in retrospective. The statistical analysis can here only state that fact. Considering the theoretical framework of Löw's relational theory of space, this observation can be interpreted that either selling at this market is no longer attractive or that there are other limiting factors for potential vendors - like lack of physical space for new vendors and a saturated market in terms of vendors looking for a selling spot. Only if this observation is combined with the interviews conducted with key figures in market administration and among the vendors association, it is clearly the latter: new potential vendors must have to find an empty space to sell, which is only possible at the moment when one vendor leaves or reduces her/his area for selling (see details on the allocation of space in 3.5.2. and 5.5.).

37 **Percentage of vendors by year of initial attendance at** *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen*



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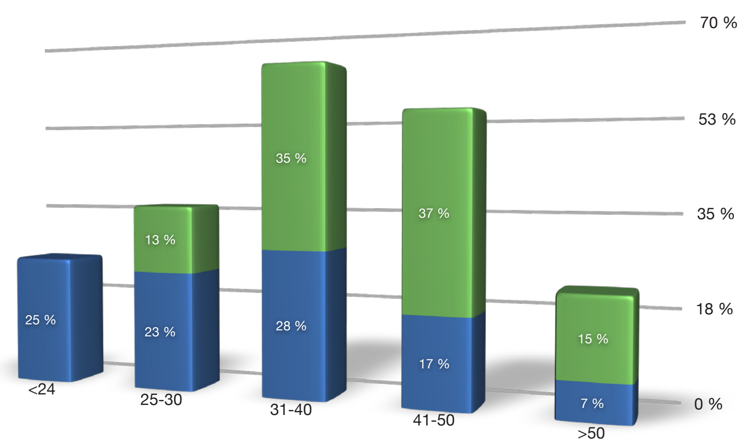
Since the design of this study is not longitudinal, it is not possible to objectively discuss the change of vendors over a period of several years. But, the observation that more than half of the vendors in the sample have only attended the market during the last nine years strongly hints to the fact that selling at this market is not a long-term option for vendors. That is, except for a minority who have stayed at PKS for several decades (10% of all vendors have attended for more than 20 years).

The overall gender-ratio is one female to every four male vendors, which changes along with the year in which the market was attended: the mean year for market attendance is 1998 for females and 2002 for male vendors, a fact that is highly significant.

This observation is accompanied with the gender ratio within the timeline of attending the market, since there is a higher percentage of male vendors in recent years, with high peaks of female vendors in 1975-2001, 2004 and 2006.

- Socio-demographic aspects: family status, children

The vendors interviewed range from 16 to 79 years old, with a mode (50% cut-off) of 35. Significant gender differences exist within the age groups. For example, there are no female vendors in the 24 and under age group, and females only comprise 13.5% of the 25 to 30 age group while vice versa these are the age groups male vendors are significantly overrepresented:.



38 Percentage of male and female vendors in different age groups (gender=100%)

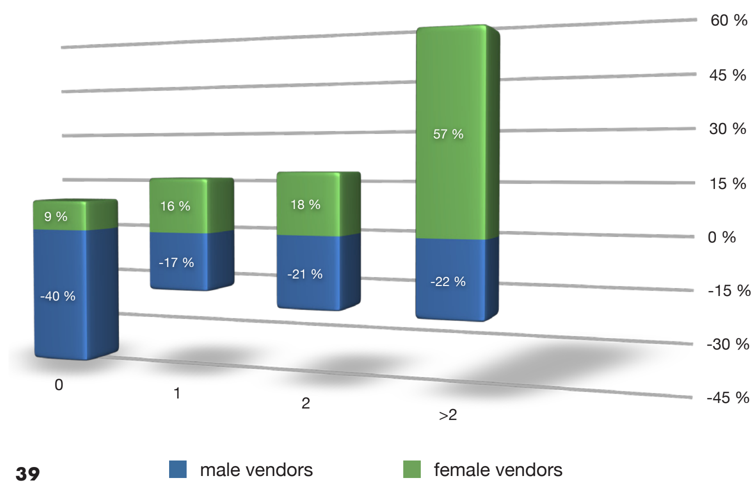
In general, age and gender in the sample can be summarized as: male vendors below the age of 40 and female vendors older than 30. Overall, nearly 30% of the vendors fall in the 31-40 age group, followed by the other age groups at around 20% with the exception of the ones older than 50 (9%).

Two-thirds of the PKS vendors are married and around 31% are single, while other family status, such as divorced or widowed, are marginal and comprise only 2% of the total. As it

39 **Number of children by gender (gender=100%)**

could be expected, there is a strong differentiation of marital status between the different age groups: 83% of the vendors below 24 years (all of them only males) are single compared to 37% between 25 and 30 (both male and female) and 7% between 41 to 50 years. The number of single females is significantly lower compared to male vendors (only 4 female single vendors in the sample), which can be traced to the strong differences between age groups and family status along with the lack of female vendors below 24 years.

In combining these observations, it is rather clear that the market is not a place for young single women trying to improve their economic situation at home. Most of the vendors are male and younger than the female vendors, who seem to attend the market during a later life stage in contrast to men. Looking at the number of children differentiated by gender can further support this thesis: (Figure 39)



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The percentage of male vendors not having children is the highest in the sample at 40%, while 17% have one child, 21% and 22% have two children resp. more than two children. The differentiation within the male gender group is rather striking, though it is not significant. In contrast, female vendors with two and more children are highly significantly overrepresented (no children highly significantly underrepresented): 57% (n=27) of the female vendors have more than two children, while only 9% of them have no kids compared to 40% of male vendors.

The differentiation between gender groups within the vendors is along age groups, family status, and number of children. Summarizing these observations, female vendors are more likely to be 31 years or older, married and have two or more children in contrast to male vendors, which are generally younger than 30 with no children.

A Both findings are related to each other, of course, since the number of children usually increases the number of people living at home. The correlation between the total number of people in one home and the number of children is (not surprisingly) highly significant (p=0.01), but rather weak (r=0.37), meaning that there is more to explaining household size than just the number of children.

TABLE 1 Gender interviewee and number of persons living in one household

- Household size

A similar finding to the difference between gender groups with regard to the number of children can be reported when comparing gender to the number of people living at home. Within the group of female vendors, half of the respondents live with 7 or more people in one home **(A)**. Although the absolute number is rather low (total female vendors n=42; more than 7 people at home n=21), and caution in interpreting percentages in this case is necessary, this is still a highly significant differentiation.

	Number of persons living in one home		
Gender	1-3	4-6	>7
female	14.3%	14.3%	50.0%
male	27.2%	47.6%	25.1%

$Chi^2 = 0.05$

TABLE 1

To find out if the number of children PKS vendors have contributes to the total number of people living at home equally between both genders, regression analysis was used. For female vendors, the number of children greatly increases the number of total persons in the household. Starting at an average of 2.5 people if she has no children each additional child increases the household size statistically by 1.5 persons. Male vendors with no children have a higher average of persons in one household (4.1) than females in the same category. But, unlike females, the number of children only marginally increases the total number of people in the household (0.55 per child). Both regressions are highly significant. Summarizing these observations, it is reasonable to argue that the female vendors' intention of selling at the market is to provide additional income due to their family and household situation. The typical female vendor profile is married, 30 years and older, and having kids, while male vendors are usually significantly younger, single, and with no children. In other words: male vendors are usually still located within their family of origin while female vendors have started their own family and contribute financially by selling at PKS.

- Education

The highest educational degree reported by vendors is equally distributed between the two higher status (with 16% no answer). About 42% obtained an SMP (3 years of middle school/ junior secondary school that follows 6 years of primary education (SD)). Additionally, about 42% obtained an SMU/SMA (equivalent to senior secondary school, another 3 years after ju-

TABLE 2 **Highest educational degree**

nior secondary school). Lastly 16% of all vendors completed only primary education (SD); though not a significant difference, it can be observed that more female vendors tended to contribute to this group. There are only five vendors in the sample who obtained some kind of professional education or university degree, and all 5 were male.

		n	percent
valid	*Sekolah Dasar* (SD)	40	16.1
	Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP)	105	42.2
	Sekolah Menengah Umum/Atlas (SMU/SMA)	104	41.8
	total	249	100.0
no answer		47	
overall		296	

TABLE 2

- Attractiveness and characteristics of selling spots

There exists an overall extremely positive estimation of selling spots with 94% of the vendors valuing their selling place either as ‘good’ or ‘very good’, with ‘less than good’ (items ‘ok’ to ‘very bad’) only totalling 6% of responses. There is a small gender difference in the estimation of selling spot attractiveness, with female vendors judging their place more attractive than males (and with a smaller variance), but this difference is not significant.

The majority of vendors asked is very satisfied with their selling spot (see above) and that is due to the current location’s characteristics: two-thirds of the vendors define the illumination at their location to be very important for their selling activities. The proximity of vendors’ friends is not given the same importance; only 27% of those interviewed stressed the importance of having friends close to them on the market. This social characteristic seems to be more of a “nice-to-have” factor of the characteristics of the own selling spot, since nobody says it is unimportant. But on the other hand the place seems to be defined in terms of trade – the French urban sociologist Henri Lefébvre (1974 and 1991) would hint at the logic of capitalism in producing space – and friends are not an essential part of business, nor are they required, e.g. for safety reasons. Though it might be assumed that female vendors may tend to be more “social”, there is no significant difference between the gender groups in responding to this item; in contrast, it is the group of male vendors that is slightly overrepresented in stressing the importance of having friends close by.

TABLE 3 Gender of interviewee and importance of having vendor friends close by

	less than important	important	very important
female	13.3%	68.9%	17.8%
male	7.0%	63.6%	29.4%

TABLE 3

Having friends close by is no replacement for security personnel, since 97% of the vendors do not have their own security personnel and there are no gender specific differences within these groups.

- Problems with customers, other vendors, or administration

Crimes and problems are bad for business and no one has their own security or really needs friends close by. These observations point to a professional way the exchange of goods and money is organised and a remarkably low level of problems. When asked about the number of incidents they encountered in the last month (a month was chosen to provide a standardised time frame and point of reference), 95% of all vendors reported not a single problem with other vendors, 87% no single problem with customers, 84% had no problem at all with thieves or thugs, and 99% didn't have any problem with the market administration or any officials from Jakarta. There was no gender difference in response. Although the interviewers were all locals (students and hospital employees; 4 male, 6 female) with special training on interviewing skills prior to fieldwork and in addition, one of the researchers is from Indonesia, it is hard to estimate a potential cultural bias here. There is great discomfort within the group of vendors regarding anything "official", so therefore it may seem natural not to talk with "outsiders" (interviewers and researchers not belonging to the group of vendors) about internal affairs or problems. Although this could be the reason for the finding of an extremely low level of problems, when analysing the interviews and looking at the long-established, broadly and complex networked cooperation of financial affairs and services, it can be concluded that the responses given during the interviews indeed represent the vendors true opinion and experience.

- Presence at the PKS

The importance of PKS to the vendors is clearly shown with the responses regarding their weekly presence: 93% of them are there every day of the week, only 7% come to PKS between 1 to 6 days a week. With PKS being their main place of operation, a majority (76%) do not sell additionally from home or on order and 84% of all vendors do not sell even once to other shops or markets. These findings stress the importance of PKS as an informal marketing place for the vendors, since only very few of them use other markets or selling locations (shops, from home) in terms of a strategy of selling diversification.

This strategy of selling diversification is significantly used more often by female vendors: 26% of the female vendors sold at home or by order (1 to 6 times per week, in addition to selling at PKS) in comparison to only 7% of male vendors. The same findings are seen with regard to selling at other markets as well: 18% of the female vendors sell at other markets between 1 to 6 times a week, while only 7% of their male colleagues do the same. Both findings are significant: women choose additional strategies to not solely depend on one selling place.

- Self-production and suppliers

Most vendors produce the commodities themselves (51% all; 26% partly). The significant important differentiation is within the groups of vendors who are not, or are only partially producing these commodities by themselves: while 42% of the female vendors partially produce their commodities and only 11% don't produce at all, 22% of the male vendors produce partially and 25% of them don't produce at all ($p=0.023$). This is another observation showing female vendors acting very strategically within the informal market: they increase their independence by not solely relying on reselling purchased products in favour of producing themselves.

This argument can be further supported by looking at the number of suppliers the vendors have. While generally 45% of the vendors have none, 25% have one, and 30% have two or more. There is a nearly significant gender difference within the latter: it is the female vendors who mainly contribute to this group, because within the female group of vendors 42% have 2 or more suppliers, while only 28% within the male group of vendors. Although this observation is close to being significant (stand. Res.=1.9), it clearly shows support for the female vendors' diversity strategies in becoming independent: from reselling purchased products, from suppliers, and from the selling-spot respectively at PSK itself. This can be supported by a finding from the qualitative analysis wherein female vendors reported that they aim to stay competitive by reselling types of cakes they do not produce themselves in order to offer a greater variety of cakes to their intended customers (see 5.4.1.).

Another finding that supports the argument of a "special female diversity strategy" is the number of regular customers, which is generally rather high (only 19% of the vendors have a percentage of less than 50% regular customers). It is the female group of vendors, again, which seeks for safety and durability in establishing long-term customer relationships; this can be

TABLE 4 Time of PKS attendance and importance of a good selling spot

seen in that fact that female vendors are underrepresented in the group having the least number of regular customers.

There were no gender differences found in the number of tables at the booth, the monthly income, or the number of people working for the vendor. But, regarding the types of cakes sold, an interesting gender based differentiation between modern and traditional cake types can be found: female vendors sell 83% traditional cakes and only 17% modern types, while their male colleagues sell only 70% traditional types of cakes and 30% modern ones ($p=0.035$).

It can be concluded that female vendors prefer to sell established forms of cake, invest in longer-term relationships with customers, and use diversification strategies allowing them to not depend or rely on others. In this way, they are responsible to add to the monthly income for a significantly larger group of people at home, including their own family.

4.2. ECONOMICALLY CONSOLIDATED VENDOR GROUPS

4.2.1. Long-established vendors

The long-established vendors (those having started their PKS business before the Asian economic crisis in 1997) significantly rate environmental aspects with less priority than vendors attending the market after the economic crisis of 1997. For example, they do not attribute the same high-level of importance to good lighting for the selling spot as the vendors attending PKS after the Asian crisis in 1997 do (55% to 70%; significant finding). Having experience as a long-established vendor seems to contribute to different strategies, e.g. customer loyalty, well-known quality of the offered products, or resilient social relationships with their customers, so they do not pay too much attention to environmental attributes.

The same observations can be made regarding the general importance of a good selling spot; long-established vendors significantly rate these environmental aspects with less priority than vendors attending the market after the economic crisis of 1997.

	less than important	important	very important
pre-crisis vendors	28.8%	38.5%	32.7%
post-crisis vendors	10.9%	42.9%	46.2%

TABLE 4

It might be estimated that these long-established vendors value social relations or friendships within the market, but quite

TABLE 5 Time of PKS attendance and incidence of selling at home and by order

the opposite is true: they don't stress the importance of having friends close by as much as vendors who are newer to PKS do (good=83%; very good=15% to good=61%; very good=30%).

These findings may be influenced by the gender differences previously described, since the gender-ratio within the long-established vendors is significantly shifted towards female vendors. Therefore, the observations reported within the gender differentiation are (at least partly) mirrored by the contrast of long-established versus post-crisis vendors at the PKS.

There were no differences found when comparing long-established vendors versus newer vendors with regard to problems with other vendors, customers, criminal behaviour, market administration, or officials from Jakarta administration. In fact, the number of reported problems is remarkably low (see gender discussion).

Time of PKS attendance (before/after the Asian crisis) does not affect the frequency that vendors sell at the PKS: more than 90% of the vendors sell there every day. There is a significant difference though in the number of times the vendors sold at home or on order: long-established vendors are significantly underrepresented within the sub-group that does not sell at home or by order at all, and overrepresented within the group of vendors who do this between 1-6 times a week.

	not once	1 to 6 times	everyday
pre-crisis vendors	66.0%	18.0%	16.0%
post-crisis vendors	78.6%	8.6%	12.8%

TABLE 5

Pre-crisis vendors sell at other markets more often than post-crisis vendors do, and they are considerably underrepresented within the group of vendors selling between 1 to 6 times a week.

Both these findings, along with the observation that selling to shops is not differentiated by having attended PKS before or after the Asian crisis, are similar to the gender related observations and can be caused by the significantly higher rate of female vendors within the group of established vendors. Long-established vendors chose strategies to sell from home, by order, and at different markets more often than vendors who attended PKS after the Asian crisis do.

There is a very distinct difference between long-established vendors and post-crisis vendors with regard to the person running the business. Within the group of post-crisis vendors, the interviewee being the person operating the business is significantly overrepresented, while a single male being in charge is

TABLE 6 Time of PKS attendance and management of the PKS business

TABLE 7 Time of PKS attendance and production of commodities

highly underrepresented. In other words, post-crisis vendors mainly work for themselves, while long-established vendors operate within the family or work for a male boss.

	Who basically directs your business/ company?				
	interviewee	own family/ couple	a woman	a man	community
pre-crisis vendors	11.9%	45.8%	6.8%	27.1%	8.5%
post-crisis vendors	40.2%	32.5%	3.8%	10.5%	12.9%

TABLE 6

This observation makes sense with regard to gender differences between post-crisis and long-established vendors: the male vendors are significantly younger and single (they work on their own basis), while the female vendors at PKS are mainly 30 years and older, married and have children (they operate within a family or work for a male boss).

Another interpretation is that newcomers (attending after 2010) are not that well established within the PKS and (still) have to sell their products themselves, while the long-established vendors have more employees (see below) and do not have to sell at the market themselves. This is a strong indicator for upward mobility within the group of vendors, especially when considered within the observations of group difference between vendors attending PKS before/after the Asian crisis.

There was no difference found between the groups regarding the use of own versus market porters.

Again, the production of commodities is not equally distributed between pre- and post-crisis groups of vendors. The percentage of the former not producing any commodities is twice as high as that for the group of long-established vendors. In addition, the opposite can be observed regarding partial production; long-established vendors are significantly overrepresented in this area.

	Are you producing the commodities yourself?		
	yes, all	yes, partly	no
pre-crisis vendors	44.1%	42.4%	13.6%
post-crisis vendors	52.6%	21.3%	25.6%

TABLE 7

Pre-crisis vendors tend to use products from more than two suppliers and post-crisis vendors from one. And, in most cases (around 45% overall) they don't use any suppliers at all. With regard to newcomers, this finding is confirmed: most of the vendors attending PSK after 2010 do not produce their commodities themselves (46%).

Interestingly, the hypothesis that long-established vendors rely on reliable customer relationships can be confirmed by looking at the vendors attending before or after 2010: within the group of newcomers, the percentage of vendors with a regular customer base below 50% is twice as high, but still most of them have more than 75% regular customers. The average percentage of regular customers within the group of absolute newcomers is 58%, while within the group of vendors attending PSK before 2010 it is 71%.

The long-established vendors have an average of 9.3 employees, while the post-crisis vendors have 6.9 employees, a nearly significant finding (p=0.065). It was also found that the long-established vendors sell different types of cake. The percentage of "traditional cakes" within this group is a mean of 84.6% while within the post-crisis vendors' group this percentage is only 69%. (p=0.04 & 0.02). When vendors are 'long-established', meaning they attended the PSK before 1997, they sell traditional types of cake at a significantly higher percentage.

There is no difference in the monthly sales (standardised regarding their time present at PSK and the reported income per day or month) between the long-established vendors and the post-crisis vendors, though the former usually have more employees. But compared to the newcomers (vendors arriving after 2010), there is a significant difference in sales: vendors attending the PKS before 2010 have a monthly mean of Rp 58.1 million (€ 4,640) while those who have been at the market 2 years or less only earn Rp 39 million (€ 3,120) per month (p=0.008). Vendors interviewed reported that their actual income would be 10-20% of the sales volume (see 5.4.1.).

4.2.2. 'Successful' vendors

Although most vendors do not have their own security personnel, 'successful' vendors (those with more than 10 employees) significantly more often hire own security (12.5% versus 3.4% of vendors with less than 10 employees).

They also stress the importance of friends close by more than less-successful vendors do: nearly twice as many 'successful' vendors regard having friends close by as being 'very important for the "quality" of the selling spot'.

TABLE 8 Successful vendors and importance of having vendor friends close by

TABLE 9 Successful vendors and incidence of selling at home and by order

TABLE 10 Successful vendors and incidence of selling at other markets

	Importance of having friends close by		
	less than important	important	very important
Less-successful vendors (less than 10 employees)	10.4%	66.1%	23.5%
Successful vendors	3.4%	55.2%	41.4%

TABLE 8

Successful vendors were the only group who significantly reported problems within the market. For example, occurrences with thieves at least one time within the last month were reported by one-third of the 'successful' vendors, a number twice as high as vendors with less than 10 employees reported (p=0.033).

There were no significant differences regarding other place qualities or problems within the market reported by this group of 'successful' vendors in contrast to other vendors.

Most of them sell at the PKS 7 days per week and the percentage selling every day additionally from home or by order was nearly twice as high as compared to the group of vendors with less than 10 employees.

	How often did you sell in the last seven days ... at home and by order?		
	not once	1 to 6 times	everyday
Less-successful vendors	74.8%	13.0%	12.2%
Successful vendors	57.1%	21.4%	21.4%

TABLE 9

A similar observation can be made regarding selling at other markets: successful vendors use more, and also different, locations to sell their products. In addition to this spatial or locational diversification strategy, they also use a time-based strategy to increase their presence at possible selling locations. This finding of group difference is highly significant (p=0.006).

This finding can be extended to selling at other markets and to stores as well:

	How often did you sell in the last seven days ... at another market?		
	not once	1 to 6 times	everyday
Less-successful vendors	85.2%	13.0%	1.7%
Successful vendors	65.5%	20.7%	13.8%

TABLE 10

TABLE 11 **Successful vendors and incidence of selling to shops**

	How often did you sell in the last seven days ... to shops?		
	not once	1 to 3 times	more than 3 times
Less-successful vendors	85.2%	13.0%	1.7%
Successful vendors	65.5%	10.3%	24.1%

TABLE 11

The percentage of successful vendors selling every day at another market is 8 times as high as the percentage of less successful vendors doing the same. A similarly high and significant overrepresentation can be seen regarding the selling activities to other shops, with an even higher ratio of 14:1.

This means that 'successful' vendors sell more often per week, and to more diverse locations, than 'less-successful' vendors (those who have less than 10 employees). 'Successful' vendors choose to use time- and place-diversification strategies in order to secure their success and their independence from single sales points (highly significant findings; p=0.001).

On the other hand, there is no difference between 'successful' and 'less-successful' vendors in regard to the person who runs the business, the production of commodities, or the number of suppliers. Also, the number of regular customers is equally distributed between these groups.

When looking at the number of employees, 'successful' vendors (who were classified into this category for having more than 10 employees) employ an average of 17.7 people to work for them, while 'less-successful' vendors have an average of 4.9 employees.

'Successful' vendors sell nearly twice as many types of cake and have a significantly lower average percentage of traditional types of cake (63% traditional cakes compared to 79% seen with other vendors). The corrected monthly turnover of 'successful' vendors is far higher than that of vendors who have less than 10 employees: Rp 114 million (€ 9,120) per month versus Rp 45 million (€ 3,600).

'Successful' vendors have an average of 2 tables belonging to their booth, while vendors who have less than 10 employees have an average of 1.4 tables.

72% of the 'successful' vendors attended PKS after the Asian economic crisis but 94% were selling at PKS before 2010, meaning they do not belong to the newcomers to the market.

4.3. IDENTIFICATION OF SIGNIFICANT SUBGROUPS WITHIN PKS VENDORS

In addition to sociological and theory-orientated analysis, automatic segmentations were calculated in order to be able to differentiate significant subpopulations within the group of vendors that have not been identified by a theory-led analysis so far.

A target-variable identifying groups to be analysed (like successful versus less successful vendors, established versus new vendors, or pre- versus post-crisis vendors) was calculated against predicting variables **(B)**.

The group of pre- versus post-crisis vendors was first differentiated by the interviewees' age. The same can be observed regarding new versus established vendors. Belonging to these groups is mainly a question of age, not of status, gender, income or place of residence. Gender-related differences between these groups are not as influential in an overall analysis as age is, but they exist nonetheless. Therefore the discussion of subgroup differentiations will focus on successful vendors:

21.5% of all interviewed vendors can be classified as 'successful' (having more than 10 employees). Related to having more than 10 employees is the monthly turnover, resulting in three groups with a significantly different percentage of successful vendors (first horizontal differentiation).

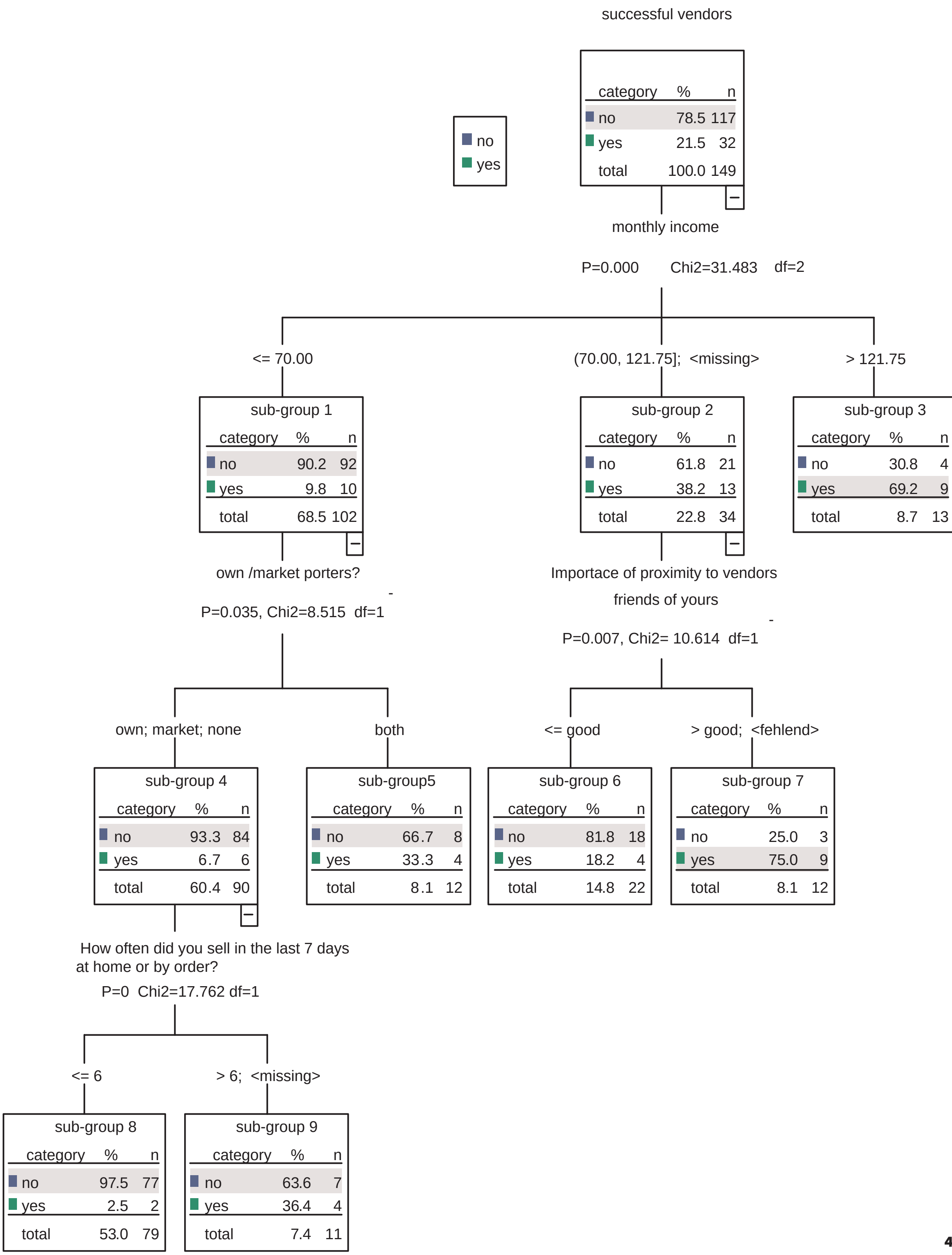
The first group is that of vendors with a turnover of Rp 70 million (€ 5,500) or below; and here there are only a small number of successful vendors remaining that can be grouped again by their use of market porters. Among them, there is a minority (8.1%) that uses *both their own and market porters*, and within this group successful vendors are overrepresented **(C)**. They can be considered as upward-oriented vendors, already using the same strategies and support as vendors who have a significantly higher turnover. If vendors use either no porter at all, market porters, or their own porters, the number (or ratio) of 'successful' vendors depends on their selling strategies in addition to PKS. If they also sell at home and by order every day (a total of 7.4% of the vendors), the number of successful vendors is significantly higher.

Summarizing these observations, the group of vendors with a turnover of Rp 70 million (€ 5,500) or lower consists of three independent subpopulations (left branch of the segmentation tree in Figure 40). First, the group of vendors who use either their own porters, market porters, or none at all and don't also sell everyday in addition to PKS (a total of 53% of the vendors) contains the least number and ratio of 'successful' vendors. In the second subgroup, those vendors who sell everyday in addition to the PKS (a total of 7.4%), the number of 'successful' ven-

B These predicting variables include: number of suppliers, the gender of the interviewee, the resident location, number of persons living in one home, the highest educational degree and professional training/university, age and number of children along with the family status, the percentage of regular customers, the ratio of traditional or modern types of cakes, the monthly turnover, the quality of the selling spot and its characteristics (importance of good illumination/proximity to vendors friends; number of problems per month with other vendors/customers/thieves/market administration or city officials; the number of sales activities within and outside PKS (at home and by order/at another market/to shops), the number of tables belong to the booth, the use of own/market porters and security personnel and the groups of (not so) successful vendors and established/new vendors.

C Please note that the absolute numbers within these subgroups can become very small, so that percentages should not be taken for granted.

40 Segmentation tree: successful vendors and subgroups



40

TABLE 12 Vendors and place of residence

dors is significantly higher; this can be interpreted to be a result of their sales strategy. The third subpopulation (a total of 8.1%), already uses the strategies of a group of vendors more successful than themselves regarding turnover: they use both market porters and their own porters. This can be interpreted as use of an upward-oriented strategy that helps them run their business in addition to other sales-techniques as well.

The group of vendors with a turnover between Rp 70 million (€ 5,500) and Rp 121 million (€ 9,465) (this is the middle branch of the segmentation tree) have an average of 38% successful vendors, which can be significantly differentiated by the way they consider the spatial arrangement and constitution of their selling spot. 'Very successful' vendors tend to rate having friends close by as being a very important quality of the sales spot, whereas less-successful vendors do not to the same degree. A friendly and emotionally positive atmosphere (cf. Löw 2001) contributes massively to the fact of to becoming a successful vendor.

Vendors with a turnover of more than Rp 121 million (€ 9,465) form a very small group (8.7% of all vendors) and cannot be further differentiated. But, as could be expected, the ratio of 'successful' vendors is very high, at more than two-thirds.

4.4. PLACE OF RESIDENCE

As shown in Table 12, most of the vendors at PKS come from Central Jakarta.

	n	%
Central Jakarta	118	45.2
North Jakarta	23	8.8
South Jakarta	14	5.4
East Jakarta	35	13.4
West Jakarta	24	9.2
Outside of Jakarta	47	18.0

TABLE 12

Below, Figure 41 shows several sociological aspects of the PKS vendors discussed so far, differentiated by the vendors' place of residence and mapped onto the 5 municipalities of Jakarta.

Vendors from outside of Jakarta sell everyday at other markets in addition to PKS, while vendors coming from Central and West Jakarta generally (>90%) don't.

4.5. SPATIAL RELATIONS

For every standardised interview, the location of the vendor as well as several spatially related questions (history of own

41 **Vendors' characteristics and place of residence**

	Gender	Asian crisis	new/established	Success
green	female	pre-crisis	established	very successful
blue	male	post-crisis	newcomer	not that successful

41

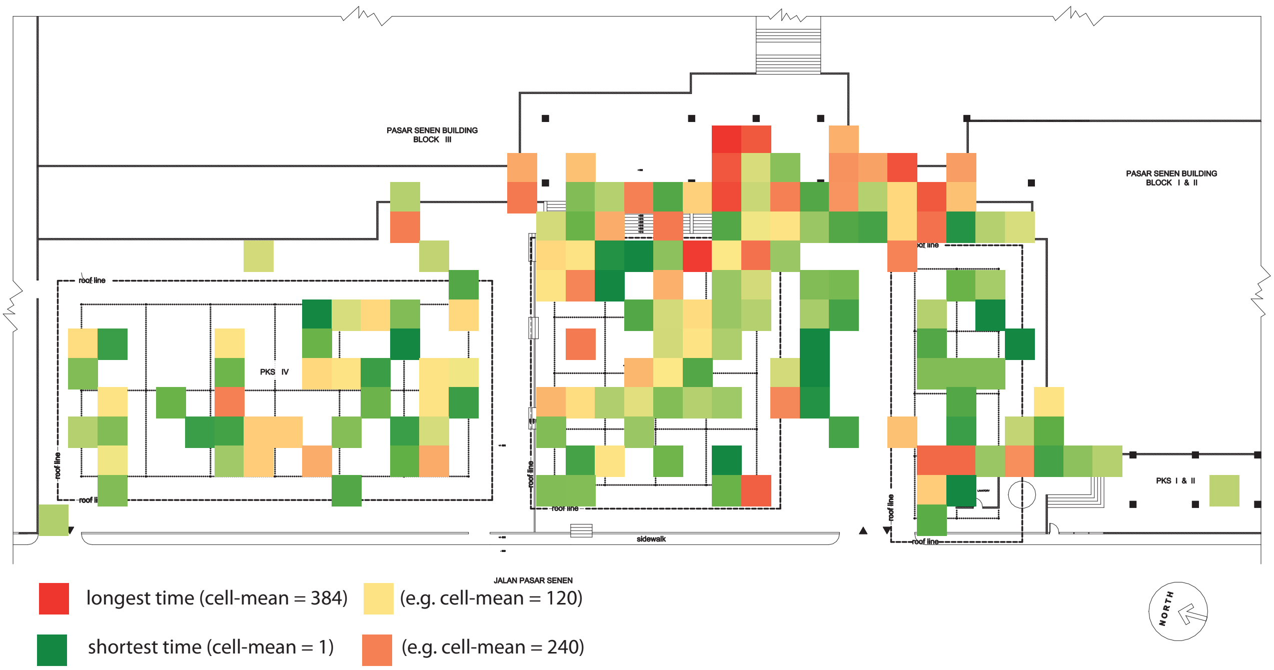
positions within the market; locations of friends and competitors, anticipated best selling spot) were recorded during the interview. A map of the market was shown to the interviewee and the positions relating to the spatial questions were marked on that map (unique map for every interview). The positions were coded later with a grid-map. Therefore it is possible to map items spatially; for example, the distribution of gender ratio, turnover, number of tables, level of success, or established versus new.

A statistical approach to cluster these items spatially was not successful (see Figures 42-45); the reason lies within the spatial structure and its reproduction within the market. It was hypothesized that the vendors would like to form specific relational arrangements (e.g. groups of female vendors close to each other), but this would only be possible if they were able position themselves more or less freely within the market area. The qualitative interviews conducted gave an insight that places are handed over from one vendor leaving the market to the one following along with a compensation payment that has to be paid for getting this spot; therefore entering the market is dependent on other vendors leaving (see 5.5.). This can be further supported by the statistical analysis looking at the average time the vendors occupied their selling spot (in months): only 2 vendors stayed less than a year at their current place and only 25% of all vendors stayed less than 3 years. The average time a vendor stayed at their current position was 8 years and 4 months, with a range of up to 32 years. Although the spatial configuration of market activities might seem to be confusing at first glance, the structuring principles of the relational space (re)created by the daily activities of the vendors, the market organisation, and the city officials seems to be very static and solid.

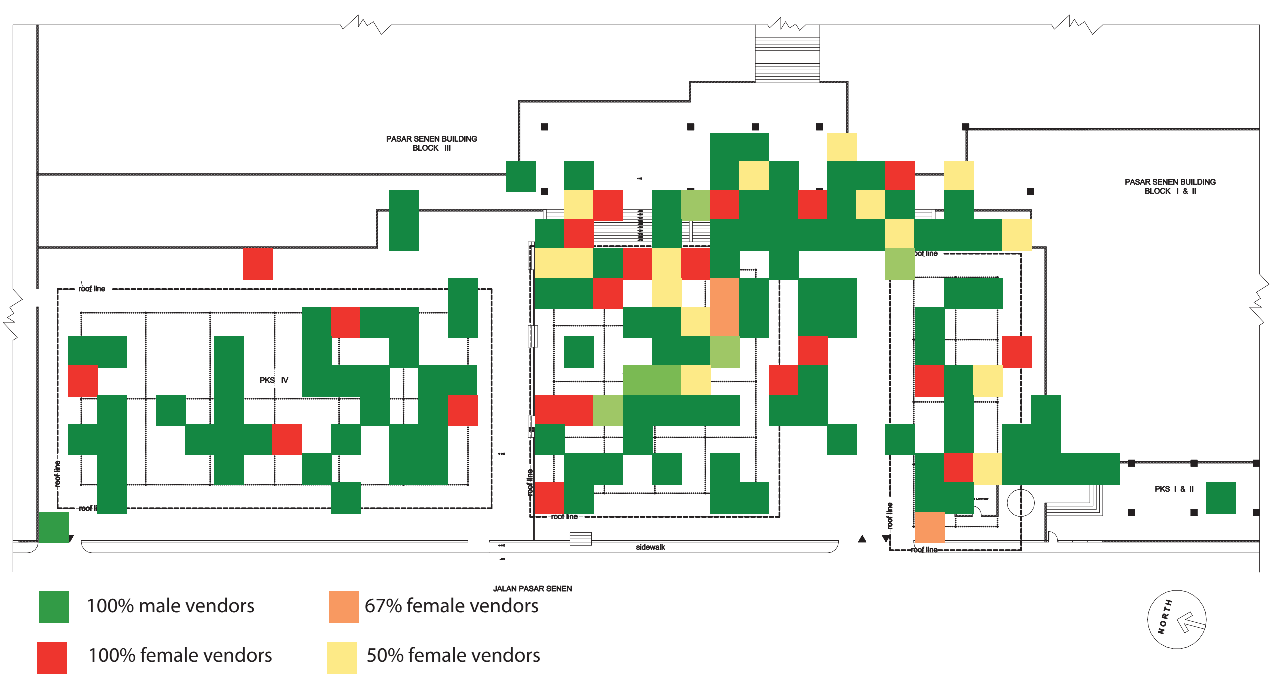
Figure 42 shows the distribution of time the actual selling spot was occupied. The area next to the entrance of Block III building (staircase and stair top) shows selling spots with the longest occupation, while areas further right (under PKS III small roofing) and at the PKS III driveway have more "recently" been acquired by vendors. This map shows the stability of spatial configurations within the market area.

The distribution of the gender ratio is shown in Figure 43. Red spots show places within the grid-network that are occupied solely by female vendors, while green ones represent only male vendors and the different shades of yellow and orange show the ratio between these. A small group of female vendors have their booths in the area with the least changes of places and they are among the first vendors to come to PKS and are still there (in the area next to stairs).

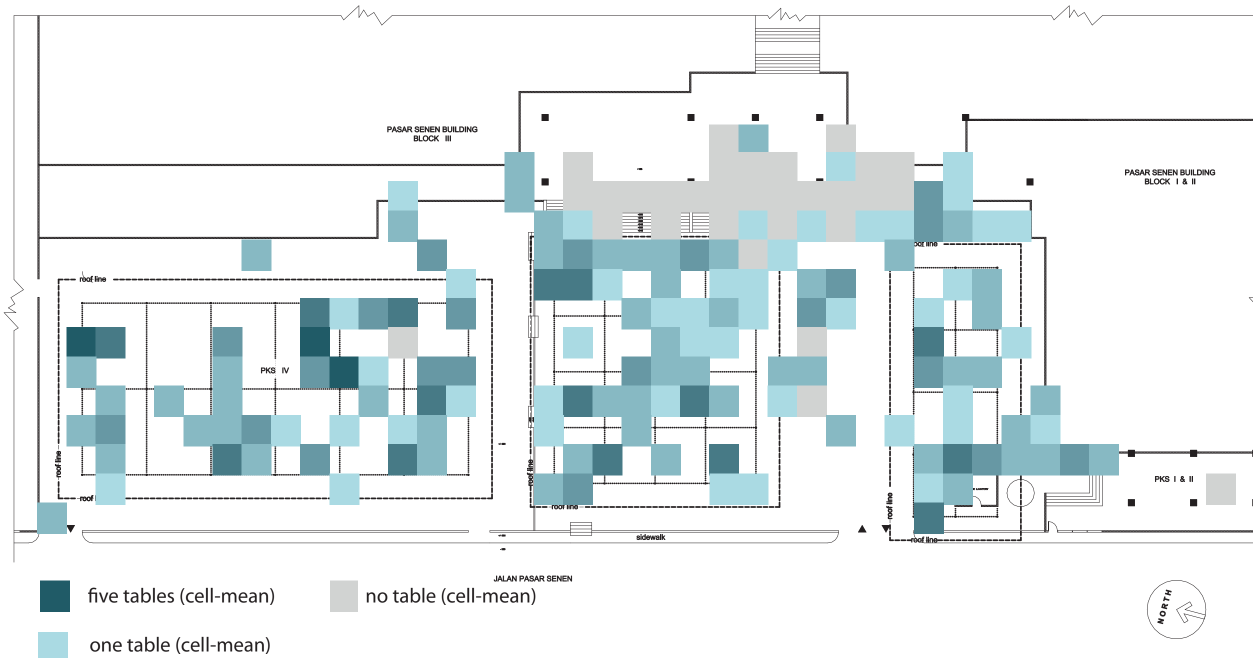
The staircase area leading to Block III buildings cannot



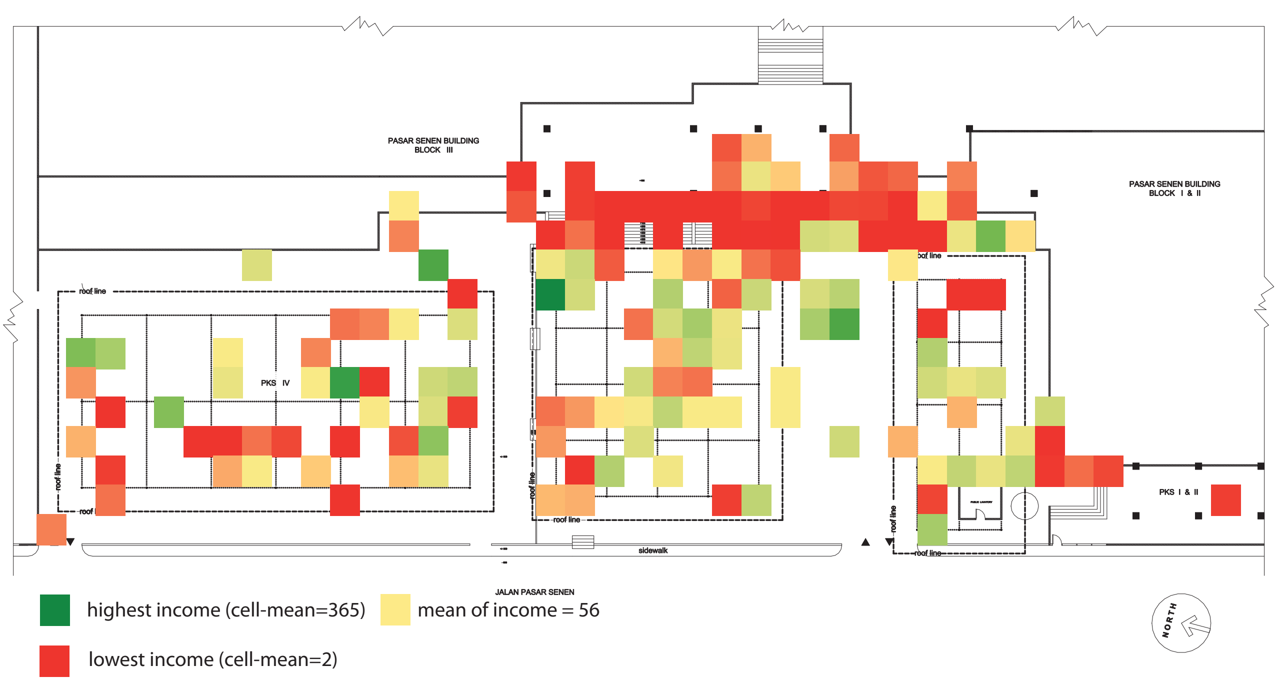
42 Distribution of selling spot's occupancy (in months)



43 Distribution of the gender ratio (green=male vendors only; red = female vendors only; other colors represent different gender ratios).



44 **Distribution of number of tables/vendor**



45 **Distribution of turnovers**

support tables. This can be clearly seen in the Figure 44. The number of tables for each booth is very high at specific spots in PKS III and PKS IV that are located more at the edges than inside of the roofed areas.

The average turnover is very low if the vendors can't sell from tables and instead have to present their cakes differently (see Figure 45). On the other hand, the places with the largest number of tables are good locations to achieve a maximum turnover. The in-depth interviews with five female vendors resulted in statements that 'good' selling positions concentrate in front of the stairs to Block III building (Cahaya, 84-89, see section 5.6.1.) and less attractive places 'in the back' (they achieve only low compensation payments (Wira, 52-53), see section 3.5.3.). Figure 45 shows that a spatial concentration of lower incomes can be identified at the staircase, parts of the PKS IV, and the transition from PKS III to PKS II corridor. But, the approach to cluster turn overs spatially could not clearly confirm the female vendors' ratings, as the positions of vendors with the highest turn overs are not clustered in front of the stairs.

CONSOLIDATION OF FEMALE VENDORS AT THE PASAR KUE SUBUH
5.

The following sections present the results of evaluating qualitative data by means of content analysis. Interview transcripts were gained from semi-structured personal interviews with five female PKS vendors and two representatives of the PKS III vendors association (see also 1.3.2.). The content analysis of the vendors' statements works to both complement and extend the findings of vendor attributes obtained through the statistical analysis of questionnaires. The specific consideration and interpretation of female vendors' perceptions contributes to providing indications of the closely interdependent spatial, social, economic, and institutional influences affecting consolidation (spatial and economic) at the informal market. According to the categories structuring the eight key questions of this research, sections 5.1., 5.2., and 5.3. refer mainly to social and economic factors, whereas 5.4. concentrates on economic consolidation, and sections 5.5. and 5.6. elaborate on more spatial and institutional determinants.

5.1. WOMEN'S MOTIVES FOR STARTING A BUSINESS

Motives for creating one's own business at PKS emerge as being interwoven in a multilayered manner; drivers for income generation intertwine with impulses to produce and trade food, and also with location-specific advantages.

5.1.1. Drivers for income generating activities

- Expenses for children and social advancement

One vendor interviewed named Sari (A) started her business at the PKS at the age of 27 because her husband, who worked at a bank, earned wages that were considered too low to care for the family and for the children of his first marriage. Now, by selling two types of cake at the PKS and also on order at home, Sari is earning more than her husband (Sari, 175-176) (B). Erica, another women interviewed, likewise mentioned the expenses

A Names are invented for anonymity reasons.

B The vendor name in brackets refers to the personal interview with 5 female vendors and the female representative of the vendors association; the number following the name indicates the line number of the interview's transcript.

for children and her husband's low income as the main drivers for starting her PKS business 26 years ago: "If you have children you need more income.” "I had to do something." (Erica, 34-35). When Erica first attended the PKS, she was 44 years old and her children were seeking higher education (her son studied in Germany), causing a high pressure on the household's income capacity. Similarly, vendor Arti started to sell when she was 45 years old and her two children were almost full-grown. And Julia had a two-year-old daughter when she started her first *warung* (food-stall) at her home, where she sold rice meals (Julia, 20-21). Julia is ambitiously aiming for her daughter's education and good job opportunities by providing her with private lessons, a laptop, and an air-conditioned sleeping room. Moreover, she aims to buy a house (Julia, 77-78, 165, own observations). Wira, the female representative of the vendors association that was interviewed is in her fifties and sells meat skewers at PKS. She has two daughters who hold university degrees and another who completed high school before marrying. According to her, there are not many of her generation present at the PKS anymore because children have grown up and there is no need of continuing the work (Wira, 70-72, 126-128). But, her assumption runs counter to the ambitions of the three older female vendors surveyed. For 64-year-old Cahaya, it is still important to earn a regular cash income even though all seven of her grown children have achieved higher education. Currently she needs a regular income to pay for her monthly installments after she renovated (extended) her house and purchased a car (Cahaya, 151, 155-156). Since Erica and Arti have become widows they rely solely on earning their own income at the PKS. All the women surveyed started selling with the motivation to earn additional income for children's expenses and succeeded in assuming the role of an equal, if not main (or sole) breadwinner, thus allowing for their family's gradual social advancement.

- Independence

Julia always wanted to start her own business (Julia, 22-23) and after selling at the PKS for eight years, she still prefers being self-employed and explicitly states that she enjoys her autonomy as an entrepreneur (Julia, 86-87). Erica was forced to earn her income at the PKS because the death of her husband. Although she is 70 years old, she still gains satisfaction generating her own income: "It feels good to have an occupation" (Erica, 45). She wants to be able to cover the expenses for her medical care and to host friends: "I couldn't ask my children to pay for this!" (Erica, 46). On the one hand, her strong will to be financially independent is motivated by the responsibility of parents to care for their children instead of vice versa. And at the same time she points out

TABLE 13 Attributes of the 5 female PKS vendors interviewed

Vendors/Attributes	Erica	Cahaya	Sari	Julia	Arti
Age, marital status	70, widowed	64, married	47, married	35, married	65, widowed
Children	2	7	-	1	2
City (district)	Jakarta (North)	Jakarta (North)	Jakarta (Central)	Jakarta (Central)	Bekasi
Business start at PKS (age)	1986 (44)	1985 (37)	1992 (27)	2004 (27)	1992 (45)
Position at PKS	III, stair top	III, smaller roofing centre	III, smaller roofing edge	IV, edge, no roofing	II, corridor
No. tables	0	8	2 (1 sublet)	2	3
No. employees (female)	5 (4)	8 (6)	1	4 (4)	5 (1)
No. additional family workers	0	0	2	2	1
Volume of sales/night in million rupiahs (EUR)	-	4-5 (€ 352)	1.5 (€ 118)	1.5-3 (€ 118-236)	2-3 (€ 158-236)
Profit/night	-	15%, 675,000 (€ 52)	20%, 300,000 (€ 24)	20% 500,000 (€39)	12% 300,000 (€ 24)
No. self-produced types (total)	7 (of 10)	12 (of 20)	2	3	6
Production hours	8	3-9	5-12	7	11
Selling hours at PKS/ night, frequency	7, every day	9.5, every day	3.5, two weeks/month	7, every day	4, every day
Selling shifts	2 a) 6-11 pm b) 5-7 am	2 a) 6-10 pm b) 1:30-7 am	1 2:30-6 am	1 0-7 am	1 3-7 am
Assistance in selling at PKS	1 employee (fem.)	4 employees (3 women)	no	husband	1 employee
Enlisting market coolies	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
Additional income generation	no	distribution of *Krupuk*	selling on order at home	no	no
No. sleeping hours (sleeping shifts)	6 (2 shifts)	6 (2 shifts)	5-7 (2 shifts)	5 (2 shifts)	5 (2 shifts)
Journey to PKS in minutes (means of transport)	15-45 (own car)	10 (own car)	10 (own car or rented *microlet*)	15-20 (own motorcycles)	30 (own car)
Assistance in driving	1 driver	1 driver	husband	no	nephew

the fact, that, generally speaking, "children do not look after their parents properly" (Erica, 40-41), disclosing what she is yet expecting: "We have taught our children to develop good characteristics and now they don't want to support us" (Erica, 38-39). She is deeply disappointed by having to rely on herself and concludes that she can't count on someone else ("Finally, we depend on our God" (Erica, 41), "Everyone cares for himself. Who wants to help?", Erica, 99). But, she draws strength from her faith and financial independence.

5.1.2 Impetus for trading in self-produced cake or food

Wira, the female representative of the PKS III vendors association aptly said: "Women feel proficient in kitchen work" (Wira, 22). Along with self-confidence based on proficiency, the presence of role models of female family members facilitates the women's entrepreneurship in trading with self-produced cake. Like Sari`s aunt, who knew how to bake traditional cakes and had already realized the possibilities of income generating activities at the cake wholesale market. She advised Sari to start a business there: "Because I knew as well how to produce cakes“ (Sari, 24-25). For Julia, it was an obvious direction to take since she grew up within a family tradition of females selling food: "My grandma sold cake as well" (Julia, 156). "I think I have been selling since I was a child. My grandmother, mother, and siblings were selling." (Julia, 30). After selling meals at her sister’s snack stall inside of the *Pasar Senen* Block III building, Julia finally decided on selling *samosas* at the PKS because this product was not yet offered at that time (Julia, 22-23). Hence, it becomes apparent that female vendors at the PKS have often collected business experiences selling either cakes or meals (at least from their homes) before they started selling at the PKS (Cahaya, 38; Julia, 20-21). In summary, self-confidence and proficiency in the kitchen/cooking, role models of family members, and an entrepreneurial spirit have been the determining factors for trading in self-produced cake.

5.1.3. Factors in location choice

From the interviews with the five female vendors and the female representative of the PKS III vendors association, several interlinked locational factors were identified that are important to vendors who choose the wholesale cake market PKS as their business location.

- Concentration of specialized wholesalers

In 1992, Arti established her wholesale business at the PKS night market because, in her view, it was the main and central cake market for wholesalers in Jakarta (Arti, 62). Now with approximately 600 vendors, the PKS Senen still holds this status, even though a second cake (night) market has been set up at "Block M" shopping center in the city district of South Jakarta. In the past, the two operators of the *Pasar Senen* market introduced incentives intending to relocate PKS vendors to other new or renewed market buildings in Central or East-Jakarta. However, vendors usually didn't like to move because the PKS at the *Pasar Senen* area is the "right place" (Arti, 134). Even though some PKS vendors were convinced to move to new market structures by exempting them from paying rent, the vendors returned after some months since their customers didn't follow them and they had not been able to acquire enough new customers (Arti, 133-138). The PKS vendors (who specialize in cake) experienced that they can only sustain with a concentration of wholesale vendors, offering a wide range of assortments, instead of small vendor groups being scattered throughout Jakarta (Arti, 69-70).

- Familiarity with the area

Cahaya knew the *Pasar Senen* area well from shopping (Cahaya, 38) and before she set up her PKS business in 1985 she already operated her own snack stall inside *Pasar Senen* Block III building (Cahaya, 25-27). Julia started selling at the PKS after she assisted her sister who was offering meals inside of Block III building. And, Julia's grandmother already worked in *Pasar Senen*. She said [we] "all knew the place very well" (Julia, 22-23, 33).

- Following family members and friends

Cahaya's sister and two of her children followed her to the PKS, each establishing independent cake businesses at different locations of the cake market (Cahaya, 122-124). Julia's husband joined her PKS business after he quit his job at a taxi company, and Julia's sister established her own business next to Julia's (Julia, 27-29). Wira, the female representative of the vendors association followed her husband (who is a pork meat vendor) to the Senen Market. And, at the selling spot next to hers, a woman took over the spot of her brother-in-law (Wira, 23-26).

- Bustle of the *Pasar Senen* area

The *Pasar Senen* area functions as an aggregate of shopping facilities including the six *Pasar Senen* Blocks and a multitude of small shops and street traders nearby. The proximity of a variety of shopping facilities close to the PKS is beneficial for the PKS vendors' shopping activities (Julia, 69). Moreover, the *Pasar Senen* area functions as a central inner city traffic hub, which contains a train station and a node for municipal public transport. "A lot of activities are happening here" (Julia, 33-34), flooding the area with people and activities, thus increasing the public awareness of the cake market.

- Proximity and easy accessibility at night

The *Pasar Senen* area is close to many of the vendors' homes in Central Jakarta. According to the PKS vendors' responses in the questionnaire, 45.2% live in Central Jakarta (see also 4.4.). Proximity becomes particularly beneficial when two selling shifts per night have to be managed (i.e. when delivery of goods has to be organized twice), thus saving time and transport costs (Cahaya, 161). *Pasar Senen* is centrally located, which is of vital importance to vendors as well as customers, since private motorized transport has easy access to main routes and ring roads at night (Arti, 138-139).

- Preference for selling outdoors

The PKS Senen predominantly provides roofed outdoor selling positions. Apart from paying lower fees for an outdoor position compared to kiosks inside market buildings, some female vendors explicitly expressed their preference for an outdoor position after they experienced selling inside the outdated market structures. "It is not so nice inside" (Julia, 22). Before Julia and also Cahaya moved to the parking area in front of Block III building (PKS III), they prepared hot meals inside Block III building, where many snack stalls are still concentrated on the 3rd floor. Without adequate technical infrastructure, such as ventilation, the heat becomes almost unbearable. Therefore, Julia feels more comfortable with her outdoor position since she specializes in selling stuffed *samosas*, which are freshly deep-fried in her two large gas-powered woks at the edge of PKS IV. Sari, who has never sold inside the *Pasar Senen* buildings, also prefers selling outside (Sari, 86), even though her position is not properly pro-

46 Julia's two woks, PKS IV

47 Sari's row at the south edge of PKS III small roofing

tected from rain. In contrast, Cahaya, who achieves the highest volume of sales, could imagine moving her selling business to a new indoor market at the *Pasar Senen* area, if necessary (Cahaya, 134-136).

5.1.4. Conclusion 1

For female vendors, income generation at the PKS is most importantly determined by the desire to increase the family income in order to cope with children's expenses, in particular with the aim for a good education. This result corresponds to the statistical finding that female vendors attend the PKS at a later stage of their life than male vendors. The PKS offers income generating opportunities of inestimable importance, in particular for women who find it easier to professionalize in kitchen work and become self-employed either in the production of food or in production and trading, while reconciling work and family. Making a career out of kitchen work deliberately lowers the entry threshold for women and is particularly fuelled by role models of family members and by entrepreneurial spirit. Thus, the PKS facilitates women's entry into the business field of a traditional gender-related activity. Although male vendors at the PKS outnumber female vendors, it might be reasonably assumed that more women are involved in the cake production as family members, wage workers, or own account suppliers, and are mainly responsible for the production, due o their affinity to kitchen work.

In the wider context, when limited choices of formal employment at the urban labour market are considered, at least in the past, professionalizing kitchen work has been one of the best options for women without high levels of education ("I am able to produce cakes after all", Arti, 95) and for skilled women who were in need of reconciling their work with their family. In addition, (as the case studies indicate), even for some vendors' children with university education, the PKS business remains attractive because it can be more profitable than adequate and more formal employments (Cahaya, 122-126).

A suitable mix of soft and hard location factors constitutes the attractiveness of the PKS location for female vendors, while familiarity with the area or following family members apparently reduce the access barriers for them.

5.2. COPING WITH THE WORKLOAD

5.2.1. Challenges of an accumulated workload

The work schedule of the female vendors surveyed is exceptionally high as they are equally taking part in selling at night and in production activities, the purchase of materials, bookkeeping, and the management of domestic work during the day.

C **In the total labour force of Indonesia, 11% of both sexes usually worked 60 hours or more a week. In particular, self-employed worked very long hours: 27% male self-employed did so and nearly one in four women (23%) (van Klaveren et al. 2010: 80).**

48 **PKS vendor selling packing material**

One of Sari's two home-made cake types she is famous for is a traditional delicacy that requires a time-consuming production process: „It takes a lot of effort for me to do that“ (Sari, 42-43). Due to cost savings, she additionally produces her paper muffin cups herself at the expense of her sleeping time (Sari, 69-70).

The women's work attitude of determination and being '*ulet*', resilient and perseverant (Wira, 65), particularly finds its expression in coming to terms with working up to 15 hours every day, even though they are assisted by employees and family members (**C**). 89% of all PKS female vendors produce, at least partially, the commodities they sell, compared to only 47% of male vendors (see also 4.1.). Four of the five women surveyed are working seven days a week. "I have worked so much I didn't know whether I was coming or going" (Wira, 69). Sari is the only female vendor who tends to economize her strength. She once quit her PKS business for an eight year break, while continuing to sell only on order from home. In 2005 she started her PKS business again but limited her selling activities to two weeks in a month (Sari, 21-22). Sari's example is also evidence of a flexibility with regard to working hours, similar to the female representative of the vendors association, who reduced her selling time at the market while increasing her production on order at home (Wira, 72-74).

All five female vendors and the representative of the association indicated that they sleep on average a maximum of 6 hours, usually taking place in two sleep shifts, which might lead to severe after-effects of sleep deprivation in the long run. "I only sleep 3 hours per day. That is yet much" (Wira, 86).

Additional income generating activities are not unusual, like Sari who is also selling on order at home and like Cahaya, who is additionally trading with *Krupuk* (prawn crackers), which are produced according to her own recipe in Central Java (Cahaya, 48-49), and is furthermore helping out in her husband's business. In face of the workload, Sari sometimes feels tired of her business, especially since the profit margin narrowed because of increasing ingredient costs (Sari, 223).

According to the female representative of the PKS III vendors association, vendors are only able to bear the work load if they are strong-willed and motivated, "otherwise they can't stand it", and because without commitment they tend to get sleepy (Wira, 85-86). She is also convinced that women persevere more to endure the work load since they feel responsible for taking care of their children and hence identify more strongly with their business than male or young vendors (Wira, 68-69).

5.2.2. Selling times and selling shifts

Most customers at the PKS are retailers and petty traders purchasing products they can sell as retail in the day time. Therefore as wholesalers, the PKS vendors arrange their selling time to the retailers' schedule and to the demanded products' freshness. Although they would prefer selling in the daytime („ Who wants to sell at night? You need to sleep at night!“, Julia, 45-46), sales are considered more profitable at nighttime. The female representative of the vendors association explained that selling at night was advantageous for her because family work could be more easily managed during the day (Wira, 79).

Selling time at the PKS starts from 6 pm, when the shops of Block III building close. In the evening shift, between 6 and 10 pm, the more durable commodities (*kue kering* or "dry" cakes)

49 **PKS III staircase at 1 am**

50 PKS III staircase at 5 am

are offered, whereas between 2 and 7 am in the morning, the less durable or "wet" types (*kue basah*) are sold (Wira, 107-108, 110). According to own observations, a quarter or less of all PKS vendors stay from the start to the end of the market, while the attendance in the evening shift achieves approximately 75% and up to 100% in the morning shift.

Arti and Sari only sell in the early morning, starting from 2:30 am, while Erica and Cahaya make use of the two selling peaks, in the evening and in the early morning. They take a break at home in-between and return to the PKS again for their morning shift. According to Erica, it is advantageous for her to start selling in the evening to prevent potential customers from buying from other vendors; "the earlier, the better" she says (Erica, 64). Julia decided to sell her deep-fried *samosas* from midnight to 7 am because of her regular retail customers. In the daytime she would sell less since there are more competitors and more customers who only buy for their own needs. She once tested selling in the evening shift and sold well but sales were less reliable than after midnight (Julia, 48-54).

Selling in two shifts and offering both types of low- and high-durability products turns out to be the most lucrative for the vendors. However, managing two selling shifts is a stressful undertaking, with regard to the organization of production procedures and delivery, particularly for vendors who produce the items they sell. The wholesalers who produce themselves usually fabricate durable items during the day but less durable goods have to be produced shortly before selling, thus extending (or shifting) production time towards night-time in order to arrive freshly at the PKS and to be retailed in the daytime (Cahaya, 62). Delivery and unloading in the peak of the morning shift emerges

51 **Crowded driveway at 5 am**

51

as being rather difficult, when the PKS driveway is increasingly blocked with tables, loading vehicles and waste.

5.2.3. Legitimating the efforts

All female vendors interviewed are determined to continue their PKS business, though they bear an exhausting workload. Along with the focus on generating income, other parameters such as a hard-working attitude and religious faith apparently serve as important impetus for sustaining the efforts.

- Hard-working ethic

Despite the heavy workload, the women draw satisfaction and self-esteem from working hard, along with the appreciation they receive from friends and relatives. Cahaya's female friends assessed her PKS business as "super" (Cahaya, 127-128). The female representative of the vendor association proudly commented on her reputation as a hard-working woman with an attitude of modesty: "Then I always say, it's just work, the work is secure and comfortable" (Wira, 83-84).

The virtue of industriousness plays an important role in enduring and legitimatizing the work load. For instance, 70-year-old Erica wants to continue to work as long as she feels able to do so because she wants to avoid being assessed as lazy (Erica, 47-48). When contacting her, at first she refused to be interviewed at the PKS, pretending to be completely roped in for her income generation (Erica, 22-23) and having no time left for talking, just as she even "can`t talk to all the vendors around" (Erica, 96). She also mentioned a generation gap with regard to her work ethic ("Kids are complicated nowadays. They only want to have fun", Erica, 37-38). Similarly, Arti felt more content with her employees in the past, whereas today, she says, the attention would be drawn off by smart phones (Arti, 42). The female representative of the vendors association clearly indicated the changing demand of providing labour conditions, which occurs with the family's social rise: "They (children) want to work in an office, sleep at night-time and want to make holidays" (Wira, 137). However, in other cases the work load does not prevent children from founding their own businesses at the PKS. In Cahaya's family three of her seven children with university education followed the example of their mother and started their own cake business at PKS Senen or at Block M shopping center in South-Jakarta (Cahaya, 122-126). Hence, the work ethic does not simply depend on age, but on ownership and employment conditions as well.

- Impetus of religious faith

Religious faith is a further factor helping to support the female vendors with their work load. Regardless of which religion, faith is providing confidence and courage ("God has helped me" (Sari, 180); "Before I leave home I pray and trust in God" (Sari, 118)). Moreover, religion plays a role as impetus for the hard-working attitude in order to please god, like Erica who does not want to be assessed as lazy and aims at perpetuating the reputation of Christians as good workers (Erica, 47-48). Likewise, she feels a strong responsibility of parents to take care of their children, which she justifies with religious instructions, "like it is written in the Bible" (Erica, 36). Her tight work schedule for carrying out this duty ranks first in her life.

5.2.4. Conclusion 2

All the female vendors interviewed are ambitiously aiming for the social advancement of their families and have actually succeeded in generating an income which is invested in enabling their children to gain a higher education and are thus providing them a stepping-stone to upward social mobility.

The strive for social advancement is stimulated by the highly appreciated hard-working and frugal attitude, apparently being supported by the impetus of aspiring after God's favour, regardless of which religion. In doing so, being a disciplined and hard worker, not wasting money but setting up a business, appears to be a typical source for modernization similar to what Weber described as the ascetic protestant work ethic which contributed to the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism and economic development of Western societies (Weber 1956: 357-381). The case studies thus reveal that the cake market provides the opportunity for joining the urban middle class or preventing social decline. Micro entrepreneurs, who tend to be industrious, frugal, and equipped with an entrepreneurial spirit, are able to economically consolidate. Considering the career of some vendors' children with higher education, it appears as if informal markets do not only function as catalyst for the social advancement of the urban low and lower middle-income groups but also attract either formally employed or formally un- and under-employed qualified persons seeking (temporary) employment.

5.3. COPING WITH GENDER RELATED DIFFICULTIES AND BEHAVIOUR NORMS

According to common gender stereotypes, even in Jakarta, it is not respectable for women to stay in public spaces at nighttime. But, in contrast, the female vendors at the night market seem to not question their actions for breaking the norms, thus raising the question of why they are apparently able to defy the concerns regarding their gender roles.

5.3.1. To earn one's living ranks first

With regard to the five case studies, increasing the family income and taking care of children primarily justifies women's selling activities in the public sphere. „I am not a rich person, why shouldn’t I sell cake?" (Sari, 155-156). According to Erica, only the income is important (Erica, 112), ranking higher than behaviour norms for women. She raised her son successfully, enabling him a good education. Nothing else really counts for her: "His mother works at the *Pasar Kue Subuh*, so what" (Erica, 116). When Arti wanted to start her PKS business, her husband and children did not want her to do it but she finally managed to assert herself ("We have to fight to improve our income", Arti, 95). Sari is sharing her profit with her sister and nephew. For her it is particularly important to earn the families' expenses for food (Sari, 173). For Julia it is important that her family doesn't have to starve (Julia, 133-134). However, even though she and her husband are ambitiously hard-working, earning good money and enabling their daughter a good education, Julia somewhat feels self-conscious with regard to the middle-class environment of her daughter's schoolmates. For instance, she told her daughter not to feel ashamed of her mother's occupation. She sponsors her daughter's school in the course of the fast breaking festivities at the end of Ramadan (Julia, 131-134). Though she is not questioning her income generating activities of being adequate to gender roles, she rather fears her work could stand for being underclass or missing education.

5.3.2. Escaping gender roles

Four of the five women surveyed denied the existence of gender related challenges or problems potentially caused by selling at night or trying to establish their business at the male-dominated PKS. Instead it became apparent that the female vendors are taking their PKS work for granted and would never doubt doing the right thing at the right place. Cahaya does not feel uncomfortable as a female vendor at all (Cahaya, 127), similar to Arti's female friend, who never felt disadvantaged or treated as a "second class citizen" at the PKS (Arti, 151). The very opposite appears to be the case since the women's work is appreciated by their respective social networks, other vendors, and customers. In Julia's view, she does not perform the role of a woman at the PKS but rather that of a hard-working vendor: "The people can see who you are, I am carrying plastic bags; I look like I go to work; I'm smelling of fried oil and not of perfume" (Julia, 125-126). Hence, her activities, work attitude, appearance (clothing), and habits are signalling that she adopted the behaviour of a worker or vendor which is not significantly related to gender.

5.3.3. Challenges of selling alone

Sari, who started her selling job at the PKS in her twenties, was the only female interviewee selling alone at the PKS; the other women were assisted by at least one employee or family member. For this reason, Sari has the most insight into the way some people - mainly customers - perceive her PKS activities as something unusual with regard to her gender. For example, she was sometimes asked why she is working at the PKS and why her husband isn't accompanying her (Sari, 135, 155). These questions reveal what some people anticipate according to general gender roles. It should be noted that Sari originates from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province, and this is conveyed in her appearance and dialect. Due to the fact that Manadonese women have the reputation of being pretty and light-skinned, it appears as if others do not easily expect Sari to be capable of working hard and even earning more than her husband. In her case, being first, a (unaccompanied) woman and second, of Manadonese origin reinforces each other and apparently creates a role model she does not comply with. Sari has occasionally also experienced disrespectful treatment by misbehaving customers (Sari, 131, 139-141) and ruthless manners of male vendors occupying her place when shifts change (Sari, 148-149). Usually PKS vendors obey an unwritten rule that others can occupy the place of a vendor who does not appear. In Sari's case, it happened several times that she found her place already occupied when she arrived at 2:30 am, a phenomenon she attributed to disrespect towards women (Sari, 149-150). Therefore, she developed strategies to cope with these manners, such as making the disputes public and informing either the PKS security services or the leader of the vendors association (Sari, 144, 151). "You have to be courageous" (Sari, 125), she furthermore concludes from her experiences with thieves and thugs at the PKS. Despite some people expecting her to remember 'appropriate' behaviour, her family members appreciate her PKS activities. She is supported by her sister and nephew in the production and by her husband driving her to the PKS every night. Regardless of the disrespectful manners of some individuals, she feels happy to sell alone at the PKS. She even prefers not being accompanied by her husband (Sari, 137-138) and not being bound by her role as wife.

5.3.4. Conclusion 3

In summary, it is apparent that selling at night at the PKS cake market is an accepted activity for married women of the low- and even middle-income groups, at least if they are not selling alone (D). According to Karim (1995), the "public value" of motherhood transcends class boundaries of the Javanese society and motherhood generally offers women infinite opportunities of social and communal activity beyond the domain of the family and household (Karim 1995, 96). The female PKS entrepreneurs' capability of greatly increasing the household income or to even solely cover living expenses attracts the recognition of their social networks and enhances their status as family members. Selling activities at the PKS furthermore provide an opportunity for practicing non-standard gender roles. Their PKS work provides emancipation from the focus of only performing as good wives and mothers. With the exception of female vendors selling alone, women can take on the new role of a salesperson at the PKS. Here women, as well as men, are primarily interacting as vendors and customers, meaning that gender and social background does not play a significant role. Vendors, regardless of their gender, are known and named according to the items they sell (Sari, 102-102) and if anything else, according to their ethnic origin, like in Sari's case. That is, what H.P. Bahrdt (2006) described as being "incompletely integrated", a characteristic feature of "modern" urban inhabitants interacting in public spheres. Bahrdt's findings trace back to the thought that towns developed as market places where a kind of urban public was established by playing the game of bartering. Accordingly, people at urban markets are interacting more detached from their (rural) network of relationships (incompletely integrated) and thus more anonymously since attributive characteristics, such as social background or personality traits become not immediately evident (Bahrdt 2006: 86-89). In this sense, female vendors at the PKS perform as salespersons with a stylised vendor behaviour and therefore do not need to verify the compliance of their behaviour with role standards for women. For female vendors, gender does not appear as a relevant reference parameter for their work.

D **This outcome corresponds to a study undertaken by Pattiradjawane/ Schnepf-Orth in 2002, asking women of inner-city urban communities in Bandung, Yogyakarta and Sanur about common behaviour standards for public spaces that women feel they have to comply with. The study revealed a significant role model for wives and mothers, saying that a married woman is the face of her husband's/family's reputation, exposing women's behaviour and clothing to watchful supervision. According to that, at least for Javanese women, it is inappropriate to attract attention in the public, to show a lot of skin, to speak up, to gossip at the street, to dander (or to create the impression of having too much time), whereas modesty and discipline are high-ranking features. Most of the female respondents agreed that one should avoid being alone on the street and not catch men's eyes. However, street vending is endorsed as a temporary activity for poor women although it is not a respected profession. Female street traders should preferably be older than 40 years and married, to be better defended from sexual harassment. (Pattiradjawane/ Schnepf-Orth 2003: 44, 49)**

E The average monthly salary in Jakarta is Rp 4.7 million (Salary Explorer 2012).

F In November 2012 the new Jakarta minimum wage of Rp 2.2 million ($228) was approved (The Jakarta Globe 2012).

G The average monthly salary in the banking sector in Jakarta is Rp 3.9 million (Salary Explorer 2012).

On this point, the PKS provides an opportunity for female vendors to go beyond gender-specific attributes and to prove themselves in a commonly accepted income-generating endeavour. However, the habitus of unaccompanied female vendors is still watched with a more critical eye and there is evidence that they have to struggle with expectations and role models they do not easily comply to. Nevertheless, even for them, the PKS provides a space where they can grow to occupy different roles in society. Robinson (2009) concluded that women's economic participation is a site of contradictions in (persisting) gender relations in Indonesia. According to her findings, women stand out as income earners in many different ways, while "the symbolic dimensions of gender stress their domesticity" (Robinson 2009, 117). However, new work practices and opportunities, though sometimes being exploitive, have led to a reshaping of local gender arrangements (ibid., 118), a phenomenon that the female PKS entrepreneurs likewise contribute to and benefit from.

5.4. ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD

About 600 PKS vendors obtain a more or less reasonable income from the PKS. For the scope of the research, data collection focused on just the vendors bodily present at the PKS compound, while neglecting other economic beneficiaries who are also dependant on the PKS activities and on the urban space where the market takes place.

5.4.1. Volume of sales

Julia started in 2004 selling 200 deep-fried *samosas* per night and by 2012 she was selling 4,000. She earns up to 3 million rupiahs (€ 240) per night, of which approximately Rp 500,000 (€ 40) is her net income that she and her husband solely depend on (Julia, 27, 138-141). By working every day, the couple is able to generate a monthly net income of approximately Rp 15 million (€ 1,200) from the PKS business. Compared to the average monthly salary in the retail and wholesale sales category in Jakarta of Rp 4.55 million (E) (€ 364), this net income seems reasonable, though social insurance contributions have been insufficiently considered. The income of Julia and her husband is more than three times higher than that which two breadwinners would generate if earning the monthly minimum wage for Jakarta (F). In the beginning Julia's sales went up and down (Julia, 138). But today she can rely on a steady number of regular customers (approximately 90% of all her customers), who provide for a stable volume of sales (Julia, 158-159).

Sari sells 15 days per month and generates a net amount of approximately Rp 4 million (€ 320) monthly, which she has to share with her nephew and her sister. This amount exceeds the income of her husband who is working at a bank (Sari, 163-165, 176) **(G)**. She sells most on Saturdays and Sundays and assesses her volume of sales as largely stable, except for holidays and during Ramadan, when cafeterias are closed (Sari, 177-178). Some nights Sari sells all her product within 15 minutes and other nights, if she has not had enough customers, she distributes her remaining pieces to PKS vendors who only retail (Sari, 165-168). She avoids overproducing her very time-consuming *panada* cakes by solely selling them on order (Sari, 218).

Cahaya, who achieves a high volume of sales per night with an average of Rp 4-5 million (€ 360) and a daily net-income of approximately Rp 675,000 (€ 52), generates most of her income around *Leboran*, the fast breaking event at the end of Ramadan, when her sales nearly double (Cahaya, 141-143).

The vendors are aware of a decreasing profit due to the rising number of vendors (Cahaya, 144-145). "Today we are twice as many vendors as in the past" (Wira, 123). Their profit margin has also narrowed since the price for ingredients has increased. But, the losses can't be compensated for by simply raising the cake prices, as the items accordingly will become unsellable. Therefore, the female vendors try to absorb the lower profit per piece by increasing their volume of sales (Cahaya, 144-150; Sari, 172). Offering more types of cake is another strategy to attract more customers (Erica, 130; Cahaya, 35). Even though profits have downsized, the women unanimously want to continue the PKS business.

5.4.2. Importance of regular customers

As wholesalers, the PKS vendors rely, to a very large extent, on regular customers who buy many pieces for retail purposes (Cahaya, 169; Arti, 59). Customer loyalty is said to be very strong and therefore competition is sensed to be of minor importance since all vendors have their own clients (Arti, 79). The number of customers is largely steady. Three of the women interviewed have approximately 20 regular clients on average (Sari, 217; Cahaya, 169; Arti, 123). Julia has between 50 and 100 clients per night, of which approximately 90 are regular customers (Julia, 158). Considering the findings of the statistical analysis in Chapter 4, female vendors successfully manage to establish long-term customer relationships.

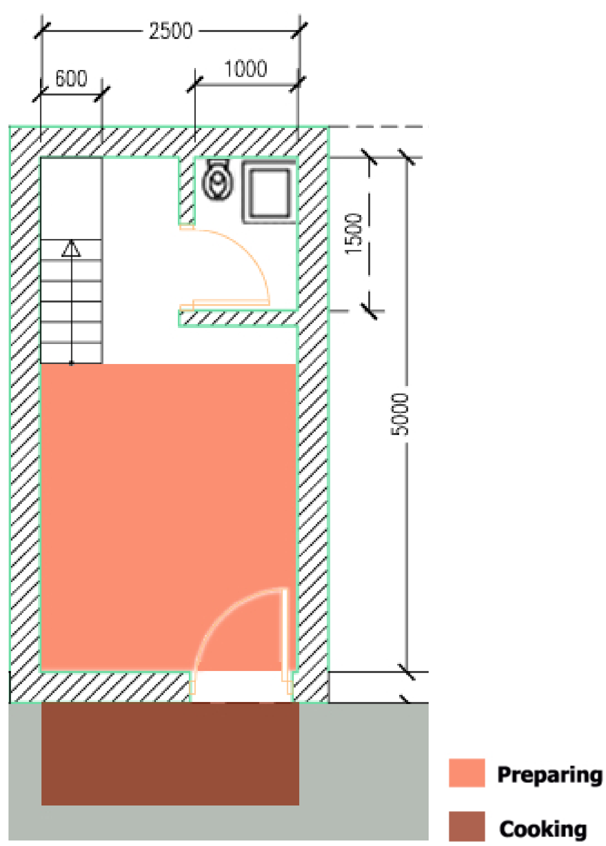
New entrants need great staying power since acquiring regular customers is considered as a hard job (Arti, 90-91). As the goods of new entrants are not well known, new vendors have to struggle to gain customers first. In this regard, the female representative of the vendors association recommended new entrants think of activities for sales promotion, like offering free samples

52 **Production space in Julia's house**

or likewise getting pieces for free when buying a certain minimum amount (Wira, 128-130).

5.4.3. Coping with income fluctuation

Although fluctuation in sales was not rated as problematic, the female PKS vendors usually take financial precaution by joining saving groups (*arisan*), which is a common mode for savings among Indonesian women, regardless of their occupation. There are many women-headed *arisan* groups operating at the PKS which usually have a majority of female members. Sari recently joined an *arisan* group with 30 members, each depositing Rp 200,000 (€ 15.70) daily. Every five days the asset of 30 million rupiahs (€ 2,355) is distributed to one member until, after 150 days and 30 distributions, every member has benefitted from the payout. The members accept only group leaders who have proved their worth of being honest. Sari's *arisan* group leader is a customer of the PKS and someone who delivers sugar to her. According to Sari, saving groups are helping the vendors to survive, especially when turnovers are poor (Sari, 186-196). If need be, vendors make use of the services of money lenders (Wira, 121-125).



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53 **Production space in Cahaya's house (ground floor)**

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5.4.4. Dependence on affordable space and labour

All five female vendors surveyed are utilizing facilities at home for production. If their respective housing unit does not have enough space for separate production rooms, rooms are often used for both fabrication and habitation, or production is done outdoors.

Arti, who employs six workers, uses approximately 100m² of her own house for the production of six types of traditional cake (Arti, 46). Sari produces her two types at her own house, where she has approximately 25 m² available in two rooms: one for preparations and another for frying or steaming. Some material is also stored in the living room (Sari, 61-63 and own observations). Julia and her husband mainly use the patio of their small house for preparing and cooking the tree types of stuffing for the *samosas*, and the deep-frying is done at the PKS (Figure 52). Since they lack enough space, two of their workers fabricate *samosas* at their respective homes (Julia, 61-62 and own observations). Cahaya, who employs eight workers, produces 12 types of cake in two large rooms of her house; her daughter, who runs her own PKS business, is producing here as well. Cahaya's husband uses the front room for producing children's tables (Figure 53) (own observations).

Apart from space needed for food production, vendors are furthermore expected to provide accommodation for their employees. Because of lack of space, Sari's male employee is accommodated at a neighbour's house (Sari, 35). Cahaya's household contains 25 people, of which more than 20 are employees of her and her husband's businesses (Cahaya 152-153). Six employees live in Arti's household, of which five are involved in her PKS activities (Arti, 7).

All female vendors interviewed are employing workers to assist in production, transport, or selling. Three of them explicitly mentioned predicaments with either finding able workers or retaining staff. Sari no longer produces as many *panada*s as she did before because of limited work force (Sari, 44-45). If she wanted, she could even supply vendors at PKS IV but to do so she would have to recruit more employees for production (Sari 168-170). In the past she sold 2000 pieces per night, ordering 1000 pieces from a woman who produced the cake at her home (Sari, 46-47). Currently she gets along with one employee and two family members for production. Arti, who employs five workers plus one family member, complains that she is dependent on workers who tend to be lazy or quit after two months (Arti, 39-41). Erica would like to leave the calculation to someone else, but doesn't really trust anybody ("They can't calculate", Erica, 72-73).

5.4.5. Conclusion 4

As self-employed entrepreneurs, the female vendors correspond to the common perception of informal sector workers. They represent a category of informal microentrepreneurs achieving a rather stable net income similar to wages of skilled workers or even more. This result corresponds to the findings of a multi-country study on food vendors (including Indonesia) in the 1980s. Incomes of street food vendors, mostly microentrepreneurs, were on average, higher than the minimum wages (Tinker 1997). However, there are numerous employees working off the books for PKS wholesale vendors either at the PKS or at the vendor's home. Employees outnumber the vendors at the PKS, as seen in the average number of employees per PKS vendor (see 4.4.4.). Though not studied, it can be assumed that wages of workers working for, or at, the PKS do not achieve the same level as the net income of the female entrepreneurs presented here.

With regard to the vulnerability of profits, the cake market attests that due to the rising number of vendors, PKS vendors operate in a highly competitive food market that frequently becomes oversaturated. Nevertheless, the female vendors are evidence of the entrepreneurs' capability to sustain. Contrary to common expectations, income insecurity is not a typical attribute of the female vendors PKS business (that is, after they succeed in acquiring regular customers). Murray (1991) describes the vendor-customer relationship as "highly personalized relationships"; obviously benefiting the traders and also the customers, who earn fairer prices and gain credit by showing loyalty (Murray 1991, 49). Geertz (1978) termed this type of practice 'clientalization', which goes on in all sorts of trading (Geertz 1978 cited in Murray 1991, 49).

Strategies to cope with income security are also available, like the women's saving groups. By joining self-organized saving groups, female vendors are taking precautions for times when turnovers are poor and hence prevent the payment of high interest rates for money lenders. Saving groups help to achieve a modest prosperity and more independence of economic crises.

It became apparent that the issues of economic livelihood of female vendors are closely intertwined with those of housing since the production and storage space as well as employees have to be accommodated in or close to the vendor's dwelling. Hence, the availability of affordable space at home is a substantial precondition for the entrepreneurship of those vendors who are marketing their own products at the cake market. This type of extended household points to the multiple and shifting connections between the functions of work and housing.

5.5. ALLOCATION OF SPACE: DETERMINANTS FOR POSITIONING AT THE PKS

In the 1980s, the first group of cake vendors spontaneously occupied the stairs and stair top leading to the entrance of Block III building, just paying informal fees to security guards and parking attendants. The use of tables was not common until the vendors moved downstairs to occupy the supervised outdoor motorcycle parking areas of Block III and Block IV buildings, which was only possible after closing hour, when the parking area became abandoned (Wira, 35-38; Cahaya, 31-32).

Because of the increasing number of vendors occupying the parking space, the respective market operators raised the fees (Cahaya, 36-37). As long as the parking area provided enough space for expansion of the PKS, the principle of 'first come, first served' mainly steered the allocation, while a piecemeal extension of the selling space occurred, finally covering all outdoor spaces in front of Block III building and in the ground floor corridor traversing Block II building. Over the years all space has been occupied that way. In 2002, a fire disturbed the gradual appropriation of space at PKS IV; the vendors concerned had to be temporarily relocated to the parking area south of Block II (Arti, 31-32). Those vendors who wished to return to the PKS IV were allocated by a lottery drawing. Others who preferred to look for new positions at the other parts of the PKS had to pay compensations to leaving vendors again (Arti, 156-157).

Today, new entrants either have to buy or rent a place from a vendor who wants to leave. After the identification of a place, they are requested to apply for a registration card, issued by the respective market management (for registration details see 3.5.2.). In the face of the high occupancy rate, allocation of space emerges as being dependent on determinants such as access to information, negotiation, personal relationships, and fortune, which will be explained in more detail below.

5.5.1. Information

Access to selling space at the PKS is first promoted by proper information of vendors wanting to quit or share their position. Julia observed a place that had been only occasionally occupied over a long period while she assisted her sister in selling food inside Block III building (Julia, 37). The female representative of the vendors association concluded that many new entrants are former employees of PKS vendors (Wira, 131-132) who got the information on the job. In contrast, Sari was asked by a vendor of her same ethnic origin if she wanted to buy the place of his neighbour (Sari, 107-108). Likewise, because of solidarity among people from the same ethnic origin, a market administration employee of Sari's ethnic origin assisted her to get registered (Sari, 111-112). Following these examples, information is gained by own observations or facilitated by acquaintances to actors at the PKS, or family ties and ethnic relationships. New entrants can also acquire necessary information directly from the market manager's office (Wira, 49). However, informal agreements among vendors regarding the sharing or subletting of tables appear to elude the surveillance of market officials (Sari, 201-203).

5.5.2. Negotiation

Allocation ultimately depends on the success of individual negotiations for the compensation payment for the transfer of the 'land-use right' of the place (Cahaya, 97; Sari 109-110). Acquaintances, recommendations (references), family ties, and ethnic relationships all facilitate negotiations beyond the payment. When Sari wanted to expand and get the place for a second table in 2011, by chance, a neighbouring vendor asked her if she would like to buy the place (Sari, 114). The deal resulted in Sari's payment of 3.5 million rupiahs (€ 272) for compensation, a sum more than twice as high as she paid for her place in 2005 (Sari, 23), but still less than the 7 million (€ 544) mentioned by Cahaya as the minimum payment (Cahaya, 98).

5.5.3. Vendors' relationships and positioning

Vendors know each other, although not always by name, and they often assist each other and share tables. Four of the five female vendors surveyed expressed their attitude of good relationships among vendors ("We all know each other", Julia, 97; "All vendors are friends", Cahaya, 104; "They are all my friends", Arti, 75). They help out when a vendor needs to leave urgently (Cahaya, 104-105) or even assist with lending money if possible (Julia, 98). "We assist each other wholeheartedly" (Sari, 103). Only Erica presented herself as independent from ties of friendship and assistance: "I don't need any friends" (Erica, 96), „Everyone cares for himself. Who wants to help?“ (Erica, 99).

Even though the vendors usually establish ties of friendship with neighbouring vendors, this research did not find friendship to direct the positioning of vendors. Nor are family ties and the solidarity among members of the same ethnic group always able to direct the allocation since positioning is more a matter of chance, usually beyond own preferences, and depending on vendors who decide to quit. For instance, Cahaya is one of the most experienced and successful female vendors at the PKS, owning 8 tables under the PKS III small roofing where a place for one table costs even between 3.5 and 7 million rupiahs (€ 272-544). Although she gained proficiency in positioning procedures while changing her selling position five times within the last 27 years, her three relatives, each running own businesses at the PKS, are scattered across the PKS (Cahaya, 28-30, own observations). In contrast, Julia's sister managed to position her tables and four woks next to Julia (Julia, 27-28). It could have been either the case of a fortunate coincidence or it was probably due to the fact of lower demand for selling positions at the unroofed edge of PKS IV.

5.5.4. Conclusion 5

There is no institution at the PKS which steers the allocation of PKS selling positions and exercises gate keeping missions. Hence, positioning is more a matter of chance usually beyond the vendor's own preferences and depending on proper information about places, which happen to become available. Acquaintances and relationships tend to facilitate the access to information and affect the negotiations about transfer payments. However, no hints are given that certain persons perform a kind of middlemen function in allocation procedures, regardless of every PKS user or employee who could distribute information on positions going to be vacated. Vendors who occasionally happen to successfully steer the occupation of neighbouring positions by friends or relatives are assumed to be an exception. Nevertheless, vendors, regardless of gender, manage to expand and increase the number of their own tables over the time.

On closer inspection of PKS III actors, there are certain persons who appear as information sources: the fee collector (because he contacts every vendor every day) and the vendors' representatives (who might happen to know about personal intentions of the members to leave the PKS).

There is no indication that female vendors experience discrimination in the allocation procedures, apart from the ru-

54 **Cahaya's position, PKS III small roofing, 7 pm**

thless manners of some vendors who try to expand their selling space while disregarding the stipulated positions. However, it is said these manners occur as well among female vendors.

5.6. ASSESSMENT OF THE PKS SELLING POSITIONS

5.6.1. *Evaluation of the position*

All five of the female vendors surveyed feel comfortable with their selling places, whether positioned in PKS III, IV or II, although only two of them occupy a roofed position. Cahaya, who is operating with eight tables and the help of four employees in two selling shifts, has managed to position her tables in the centre of the small roofing of PKS III for 10 years now. She is used to the place and does not intend to move („ As long as I will work, I will stay here“, Cahaya, 174-175) even though she knows

55 Erica's position on the stair top, 3 am

56 Arti's position in PKS II corridor that more attractive places are located in front of the stairs to Block III building (Cahaya, 84-89).

Erica, who positioned herself well visibly on the stair top (Figure 55), where she sells from boxes on the floor, is convinced that she can't take another place, even though she assumed the places downstairs would be more attractive. While assessing her position, she conducted a cost-benefit analysis of the conveniences and disadvantages and concluded that she still prefers her present position. As benefits, she mentioned her regular customers and that she does not need tables there and thus can save expenses for the place (Erica, 85-88). Arti runs three tables in the corridor and enjoys roofing and a tiled floor ("It's nice here, you only have to set up a table", Arti, 58). She feels bound to her position (Figure 56) because her regular customers will look for her at this place (Arti, 59-60).

Sari has sold at her current position for 7 years. Although she is situated at the south edge of the PKS III small roofing, where the tables in her row are not properly protected from rain, she likes her position and does not want to change the place. In her view it is a favourable location because „all people pass by“ (Sari, 84-89). Similarly, although Julia does not have roofing for her equipment at the eastern edge of PKS IV, she does not aim for a change, since many people pass by and her clients know her place (Julia, 83, 88). Her position at the edge is beneficial since her gas-powered woks require space and produce heat. Among the more cramped positions under PKS III and PKS IV roofing and particularly inside the narrow PKS II corridor, her equipment would be difficult to accommodate (own observations).

It is notable that many vendors consider the organization of PKS III to be superior to PKS IV because of the PKS III vendors association. The association facilitates the relations towards the market management and hence improves the services (Julia, 91-93).

5.6.2. Security

The *Pasar Senen* operators employ security guards to provide on-site security services at the PKS II, III and IV. Whereas some years ago the Senen area was known for its bad reputation due to petty theft, nowadays the situation at the cake market and its environment is perceived as improved since the informal security militia ORMAS Banten controls public spaces in the Senen area (Arti, 144-146; see also 3.4.4.).

Citing security reasons, female vendors in the PKS II corridor assess positions at PKS III and IV as more safe (more spacious, better social control) than the cramped conditions in the corridor, where the "little thieves" (children gangs) manage to steal while passing by every morning (Arti, 142-144). Here Arti's female vendor friend even feels rather helpless. According to her, although thieves affect many vendors, they tend to ignore the problem and thus fail to take measures against the thieves. She shows an ambivalent attitude with regard to the informal security services. On the one hand, she is happy that the security situation has improved since ORMAS Banten began supervising the environment, but on the other hand she complains that *preman* (thugs), working as informal security guards, and thieves prevent more customers from visiting the PKS (Arti, 145-148).

Female vendors at PKS III and IV generally feel safe, but are nonetheless "annoyed" by children gangs (Julia, 118-119) or beggars (Cahaya, 118). Sari, who sells alone, reported at length of pickpockets, begging or stealing children, and some betrayal strategies of vendors (Sari, 119-124). Opinions differ whether vendors are capable of stealing among one another (Arti, 85; Sari, 122-124). Some PKS vendors occasionally do not pay in time, if not at all. This attitude angers the women. There is the mutual agreement to pay for the purchase from each other after the end of the selling time, but some do not like to pay (Arti, 107-110; Erica 124). According to Julia, who is selling with her husband at PKS IV, pickpocketing (of precious items) is a self-inflicted problem. In her view, everybody could easily prevent it by showing an appropriate appearance and attitude, which does not attract the attention of thieves ("Security is depending on our own behaviour"; it is not appropriate to be "wearing jewelry", Julia, 119-120).

Overall, security is perceived differently, depending on numerous determinants such as position, companionship, and own appearance and analysis is not within the scope of this research. Apart from the problem of "little thieves" in the corridor, security issues do not emerge as important problems for female vendors at the PKS, a result that corresponds to the findings of the statistical analysis (see also 4.1.).

5.6.3. Problem of waste

Waste is the one problem unanimously mentioned at the PKS. All five female vendors and also the female representative of the association emphatically expressed their disapproval of the waste problem. „The waste situation has to change at all costs!“ (Sari, 93); "Cleanliness is the sole problem" (Cahaya, 18-119); "A cake market has to be clean" (Wira, 61-62).

The researchers observed that the PKS cleaning service is thoroughly sweeping the PKS terrain at the end of the PKS operating hours every morning before 7 am, supported by scavengers collecting waste in the street space in front of the PKS. However, the occasional cleaning of parts of the PKS during the night is not able to promptly cope with the waste accumulation, particularly the packaging waste incurred by shift changes (Ca-

57 Waste accumulation, PKS III small roofing, 2 am

haya, 86-88) and the casting away of unsellable cheap types of cake (Sari, 94-95). Consequently, waste piles up at many places during PKS operating hours and limits the movement of all PKS users. In spite of many complaints, it is obvious that the vendors themselves do not show any effort to clean up, thus leaving the issue entirely to the cleaning service. Waste is simply thrown on the ground, where it becomes stuck in holes and cracks of the concrete flooring and around table-legs, thus making it cumbersome to sweep up between the crushes of vendors, coolies, and customers. Payments for the cleaning service, which are included in the daily services fee, apparently slow down further vendors' initiatives for waste alleviation.

5.6.4. Conclusion 6

Although the choice of a selling position is mainly beyond one's own preference, the overall satisfaction with one's position surprisingly is rather high. This finding corresponds to the results of the statistical analysis (94% of the vendors value their place as good and very good, see 4.1.). Changing the position is apparently avoided since the vendors feel bound to their place by their dependence on regular customers. Although vendors are aware of more and less favourable positions (which are also reflected in price differentials for compensation payments), they do not like to change positions (see also 4.5. and Figure 42).

Although nearly all PKS stakeholders are complaining about the waste problem, neither self-organization nor the market management are yet able to cope with it. Waste and the "little thieves" are perceived as problems, whereas security is not. This is a rather surprising result since crime and an overall bad reputation of the *Pasar Senen* area had been essential motives for the urban development administration to work out the long-term redevelopment strategy including structural improvements of the *Pasar Senen* Blocks and its surroundings (see also section 3.6.) (H). Why female vendors in particular, potentially the most vulnerable vendor group at a night market, do not primarily complain of security difficulties, might either be attributable to the high social control among vendors at the PKS compound and its private security services or to the effectively ensured protection management by the non-governmental ORMAS militia.

H **According to several authors, public safety is a serious problem for Jakartans and the city is ranking amongst the most dangerous in Asia, where those who can afford it hire private security personnel (Hogan 2005, cited in Bunell/Miller 2011: 39 and Bunnell/Miller 2011: 39). It seems as if the authors are referring to social tension and economic unrest following the severe financial crisis in 1997. In contrast, the researchers share the view of the female vendors, subjectively perceiving the security situation at the cake market and its direct environment as safe.**

CONCLUDING SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE PKS 6.

- **Reasons for self-employment in street food**

General trends in Indonesia describe a preference for urban informal employment by a group of mainly non-poor earners (World Bank 2010, 62) for the reasons of weighed wages, benefits, working hours, location, and working environment. Whereas for some people informal jobs turn out to be a trap, others switch between the formal and informal sectors when beneficial. Informality can be a stepping stone to a better job or can function as a security net for people laid off from formal jobs (World Bank 2010, 64). Children increase the likelihood of women to participate in the urban informal sector of employment (Gallaway/Bernasek 2002, 315f), especially in the household retail and grocery sector (World Bank 2010, 54). Due to women's ambitions to reconcile work and family duties, informal employment is said to provide the opportunity to work fewer hours (World Bank 2010, 64). In many cases women work as unpaid family workers, their share amounts to 4 times that of men (ILO 2012, 55).

Findings from PKS female vendors interviewed indicate that women mainly strive for increasing their family income, predominantly in order to better cope with expenses for children's education. Aiming for social advancement or the goal to prevent social decline pushes them to tackle both production and selling activities in addition to family work. For some highly educated children of vendors, the PKS wholesale business is even more profitable than a more adequate formal employment. Professionalizing kitchen work obviously lowers women's entry threshold for self-employment. Whereas some female vendors emphasize the flexibility of their PKS business for structuring their time to accommodate both income-earning and domestic work, the low number of female PKS vendors proves the contrary. Considering the favourable conditions the PKS provides for female self-employment, unexpectedly only 20% of the vendors are women. This low share also contradicts the association that markets are being traditionally a women's domain in Indone-

A **The low share of female vendors at the PKS and the interpretation that women are involved in production of the cake at home, corresponds to Tinker's findings on street food vendors in Bogor (a middle-size town south of Jakarta). Her survey showed that though street vendors are largely men, preparation frequently involves the spouse (Tinker 1995; Tinker 1997).**

sia (Murray 1991, 41). Therefore, it appears to be questionable whether operating a PKS business reflects the advantages generally attributed to informal self-employment. On the contrary, the wholesale feature of the PKS, its numerous requirements for earning a stable income, and the huge work load tend to reduce the attractiveness for women to work at the PKS. However, there is strong evidence that an unknown number of female suppliers, workers, and/or family members are producing for predominantly male PKS vendors (**A**).

The research focused on female vendors at the PKS, both operating as employers or own-account workers and asserting themselves in gaining a foothold at the cake market. For this reason, the research did not further concentrate on paid workers, unpaid family workers, female suppliers and other income earners depending on the PKS. However, in order to provide a more complete picture of earners who make their livelihood from the cake business, they are listed and subdivided in the following:

a) Vendors (partly producers) and workers who are present at the PKS, as business owners/employers and wage workers or unpaid family workers employed by PKS vendors,

b) Suppliers and workers who are not present at the PKS, as business owners/employers or as paid employees/unpaid family workers employed by either vendor employers or supplier employers.

PKS businesses average approximately 5 employees each. Hence, the approximately 600 vendors create an additional 3,000 jobs. An additional unknown number of suppliers and their employees must be added to get a rough idea of the total number of earners from the PKS. Although not elaborated, there is strong evidence that a further number of people are wholly or partly dependant on the wholesale cake market and hence on the space provided for the PKS. Both the reliance of different PKS actors on the contested space and their economic connectivity has been explained in Chapter 3.

- **How female vendors make their economic livelihood**

The self-employed female micro-entrepreneurs achieve a relatively stable net income, which often exceeds wages of skilled workers in more formal employment. They manage to sustain at the highly competitive urban food market while developing diversification strategies with regard to selling locations, the range of products offered, and independence from suppliers. Women vendors also place more emphasis on establishing long-term customer relationships than male vendors.

Entrepreneurial spirit and an industrious and frugal attitude contribute to the female vendors' economic consolidation at the PKS. Although comprising only 20% of all vendors at the PKS, female vendors are overrepresented among the long-established vendors and in businesses which are run by the own family.

To secure economic livelihood, female vendors are dependent on sufficient production and storage space at their domiciles. Due to production activities at home, further space is required to accommodate paid workers in the extended vendor's family household.

- **Attributes of vendors**

The statistical analysis of standardized vendor interviews included the spatial mapping of items. Although operating in a legal grey zone, the spatial configuration of the PKS seems to be very static and solid. The average time a vendor stayed at the current position was 8 years. The statistical findings complimented the qualitative interviews whereupon the allotment of selling positions does not follow individually favoured relational arrangements of the vendors, but is due to the full occupancy of selling positions and the changeover of vendors on an only-as-available scheme. Therefore, the spatial configuration does not clearly reveal concentrations of vendor groups within the market. Female vendors are among those who stay at their positions the longest and also within areas where vendors have changed more recently. They do not concentrate in specific areas nor is their spatial or economic consolidation restricted. In particular female vendors show a long-term orientation while there is a higher percentage of male vendors attending the market in recent years. Vendors do not report problems; not conflicts among PKS actors or with local authorities or criminals. These statements indicate that the PKS is shaped by a peaceful atmosphere.

The typical profile of female vendors is married, 30 years and older, having children, and operating within a family or working for a male boss. To a larger extent, they tend to prefer selling traditional cakes and to produce themselves than do male vendors. Male vendors tend to be significantly younger, single with no children, and are usually still living with their family of origin. Nearly all vendors sell at the PKS every day of the week, and for a vast majority, the PKS is their main place of income generation. Female vendors, long-established, and 'successful' vendors choose strategies of selling diversification (such as selling on order or at other markets) which allows them to not depend solely on the PKS. Both the long-established and the 'successful' vendors have the most employees. Especially for the 'successful' 20 per cent of vendors, a friendly and emotionally positive atmosphere is deemed a very important quality of their selling spot.

Most of the vendors at the PKS come from Central Jakarta or from outside of Jakarta. The proximity of the PKS to one's place of residence is more important for female vendors compared to male vendors. Also, the majority of long-established vendors reside in Central Jakarta whereas the 'very successful' vendors tend to come from outside of Jakarta. Though the latter group is present at the PKS every day they do not solely depend on selling at the PKS. Those big wholesalers could emerge as a challenge for the spatial and social structure of the market and their presence incidentally raises the question of their legitimacy to utilise the legal grey zone of the PKS.

- **Gender roles affecting female vendors' access and consolidation**

The public realm of the urban night market allows the opportunity for the traditional role of women to become blurred since female vendors assume the role of a salesperson, where gender and social background becomes less significant. Selling and production activities of PKS businesswomen are legitimized by the need for increasing their family income, which is usually intertwined with motherhood and being responsible for children. Female vendors' work practice and income generating activities gain appreciation within their families and communities if they are hard working and manage to earn a stable income. Female family members often serve as role models for PKS businesswomen, while their own proficiency in kitchen work encourages them to become self-employed in this type of work. Working onsite at the PKS is not considered a respectable activity for young and single women, indicated by their lack of presence among PKS vendors. There is strong evidence that women selling alone at night (even if married and not too young) are watched more critically and they cannot easily exhibit behaviour not compliant with ideal role standards. These standards obviously include the support by family members or workers while in public.

Nonetheless, the work practice and work load of PKS businesswomen contradicts the far reaching middle-class ideal of domesticity. It could be argued that women vendors fear the blemish of being underclass more than violating gender roles.

- **Positioning of vendors and rules for the allocation of space**

During the first decade, while the PKS was still expanding, the allocation principle of 'first come, first served' mainly steered the positioning of vendors. Now, since the PKS site is fully occupied, positioning has become a matter of chance and is largely beyond the vendor's own preferences. Whether or not a new entrant obtains information on vendors who intend to leave is now a decisive factor in obtaining a selling spot. The mutual agreement on a compensation payment for the place is the second important factor. Both the access to information and compensation negotiations are facilitated by acquaintances at the PKS, family ties, or the solidarity among people from the same ethnic origin. Regardless of gender, vendors manage to expand their selling space over the years. Nonetheless, female vendors better tackle ruthless appropriation of space by neighbouring vendors when they are accompanied by employees or family members. Empirical evidence suggests that the vendors' positioning is not steered by the wish to sell close to friends or in appropriate distance to competitors. Simply, the allotment of selling positions at the PKS site is largely self-organized by the PKS vendors and their representatives. Apparently, the participants know which procedures need to be followed and there is no evidence for any informal or formal institution or middlemen exercise gate-keeping functions. The role of the Senen Market management consists of issuing the registration of every vendor, comprising the allotted position and the number of tables used. The market operators are keen to keep the growth of vendors under control, as they fear evictions may cause social unrest. Nonetheless, vendors flexibly sublet their selling space to one another without registering with the market management. The number of vendors might thereby temporarily increase without expanding the appropriated space. If space disputes arise, the vendors' representatives are asked to mediate and if need be, the market operator is requested to control and insist on the registered allocation. It can therefore be said the allocation of space of this informal market is not unruly, unstructured or unpredictable. Though administratively treated as a "temporary" market location, the *Pasar Kue Subuh Senen* wholesale market can be characterised as a very static market. PKS vendors avoid the change of selling positions and show a long-term orientation. Discrimination or marginalization of female vendors or other groups of vendors trying to access a selling space at the PKS was not identified.

The idea to provide selling space for a higher number of female vendors seems to be neither necessary nor feasible. Female vendors appear to have good capabilities to get self-employed in the informal food sector if they wish (that is, once they decide to shoulder the efforts to run a wholesale cake enterprise). Access and positioning at the PKS does not discriminate against female vendors. Apart from space issues stemming from the full occupancy of the market, businesswomen entering the PKS do not confront access issues. Considering the self-organization of the PKS, a positive discrimination such as quotas for women would have at least two disadvantages. First, this option could only be implemented if a gate-keeping institution was established. But, a gatekeeper could hamper the self-organisation procedures and the institution itself could be susceptible to misuse. Second, regulations on quotas could easily be violated in practice since the PKS enterprises could manipulate the gender of positions in charge. Therefore, gendered strategies to support female vendors in gaining a foothold at informal markets are considered unfeasible.

- **Assessment of the locational qualities and selling positions**

The PKS cake market at the centrally located Senen Market provides a series of locational qualities for the informal wholesale trade. The space provided at PKS II, III and IV allows the concentration of approximately 600 vendors; the majority specialized in producing and trading predominantly traditional types of cake. The wholesalers, as well as their retailing customers, are attracted to the PKS by the spatial concentration of many specialized vendors. Thus, the wholesale feature of the PKS can only be sustained if the concentration of vendors is maintained. In addition, the vendors appreciate the comparatively low rental costs and benefit from the proximity and/or easy accessibility of the site. For female vendors, familiarity with the area proves to be important, whether from their own experiences or those of family members. Even though vendors are aware that some positions are more or less favourable, the majority of vendors are largely satisfied with their selling spot. Vendors do not report many problems, whether with conflicts among PKS actors nor with local authorities or criminals. Statements indicate that the PKS is shaped by a peaceful atmosphere, though occasionally disturbed by child gangs. Vendors mention waste as the main problem of the PKS. According to the female vendors interviewed, waste removal can't be tackled in the usual way and is in need of fundamental change.

- **The need for securing the PKS land use**

Due to the insufficient legal constructs, the continuance of the *Pasar Kue Subuh* wholesale market is vulnerable. The present land-use right as a location temporarily used by street vendors allows for the appropriation the outdoor motorcycle parking area of *Pasar Senen* Block III and IV at night. This land-use right is guaranteed over a period of just two years, though it has been regularly extended in the past. The PKS vendors, and also the market operators as property owners, have to deal with a limited planning security. Although the PKS has existed for more than 25 years, it depends on a spatial planning administration that treats the informal market as a temporary land use. The PKS is insofar forming a pseudo-permanent margin suggesting a "permanent temporariness" (Yiftachel 2009, 89, 90).

Despite the planning insecurity, the vendors are content with the PKS space provided since the strategic location is considered as beneficial for a wholesale market. The vendors also know that even more fragile conditions exist for street vendors operating in public open spaces. Nevertheless, the planning insecurity tends to curb PKS business owners' propensity to invest in their business (for example, in equipment or employees). The unstable conditions at the market seem to foster the mentality that one must try to gain the most profitable earnings within the shortest amount of time, while investing as little as possible. Vendors are hence discouraged to improve their selling presence and business environment. This attitude can particularly be observed among the vendors situated under the small roofing of PKS III; they are only present for a short selling shift, do not take care of the presentation of their commodities, and leave huge amounts of waste. The property owners are also reluctant to invest in the PKS infrastructure, as they cannot rely on the extension of the land-use right as a temporary location for street vendors. Planning insecurity for the PKS vendors is rising. The projected redevelopment project of the entire *Pasar Senen* area has already been under discussion for 10 years and has been partly implemented with the reconstruction of *Pasar Senen* Block IV in 2009 and the "commercial bridge" in 2011. Neither the market operators nor the PKS vendors know (or say they did not know) where the PKS will be located after the reconstruction of *Pasar Senen* Block III building. However, they all believe that the PKS will remain in place.

Up to the governor's election in November 2012, Jakarta's urban planning policies and economic activity promotion left the widespread street vending activities in a regulatory grey area. The local planning instruments are not sufficiently equipped to better ensure the provision of either indoor or outdoor selling spaces for street vendors. The permission of the PKS as a "temporary PKL (street vendor) location" is limited for a period of two years. Although the limitation indeed allows a flexible scope of action for the urban planning administration, it causes planning insecurity for the users. In order to improve the economic, spatial, and social consolidation of informal vendors and hence lead to their formalisation, it is recommended that the "temporary PKL location" land use permission be extended to a minimum of ten years. A large share of the urban labour force is considered to depend on the informal wholesale and retail sector and it is also known that Jakarta's population and formal economy benefit from the activities. Therefore, the economic and social importance has to be further adequately translated into the political realm. Responsible policies on the provision of space must ensure that informal government practices that appear to be ambiguous or arbitrary, be stopped.

- **Recommendations for the preservation of the PKS**

In addition to the recommended land-use right extension for the temporary PKL locations, which would improve planning security for street vendors and also market operators (land owners), the researchers suggest that bilateral arrangements between the PKS vendors and market operators (*PD Pasar Jaya* and *PT Pembangunan Jaya/Jaya Property*) not elude a guaranteed planning security for vendors. In consequence, an arrangement would need to be made that allows the property owners to lease parts of their (open) spaces in a cost-effective manner and at the same time does not place undue financial strain on PKS vendors. The long-lasting PKS proves that both vendors and *Pasar Senen* market operators derive a benefit from the land use and that the continuance of such an arrangement is a realistic option for the preservation of the PKS. Nonetheless, some basic requirements to facilitate the smooth functioning of the PKS and to improve the PKS infrastructure are recommended.

In the wake of the remaining comprehensive reconstruction of *Pasar Senen* Block I-III, different solutions for the accommodation of the PKS are under discussion:

Option 1:

Relocation into the indoor ground floor car park of the reconstructed market building

The most important physical requirement for the future PKS site is accessibility from the street space. Therefore, the selling area should be situated at the same level as the public space floor or the side walk.

Option 2:

Continued outdoor location on the site of the redesigned parking area

The outdoor option appears to be the most adequate solution when considering the requirements for delivery, loading and transport of the huge turnover of goods, and also the removal of waste. If a new permanent roofing of the parking area would be too cost intensive, then it is recommended to use a temporary roofing instead. For example, market umbrellas or a system of poles to be covered by a tarpaulin (Figure 60).

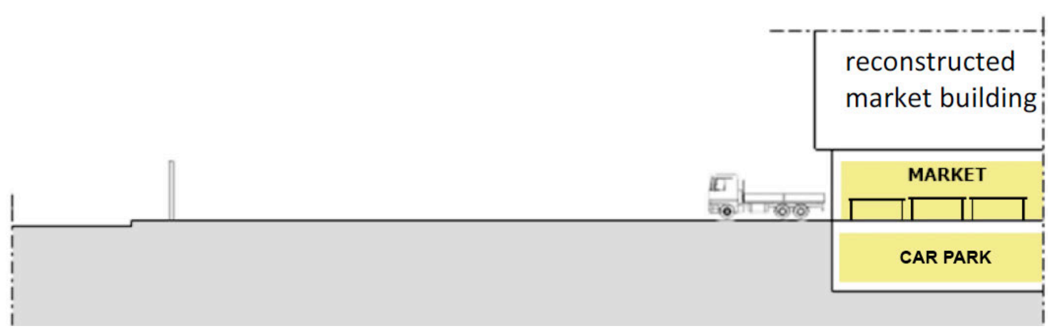
The relocation of PKS vendors to indoor kiosks seems to be less feasible, since the majority of PKS vendors would not be able to pay the rents for indoor kiosks in a reconstructed market building. As described in section 2.3.2., in many cases not even the indoor vendors, who formally rent their selling space from *PD Pasar Jaya* traditional market operator, can afford the rent in-

58 Section of the present PKS III

59 Option 1: PKS located in the indoor car park

60 Option 2: PKS outdoor location and temporary roofing

58



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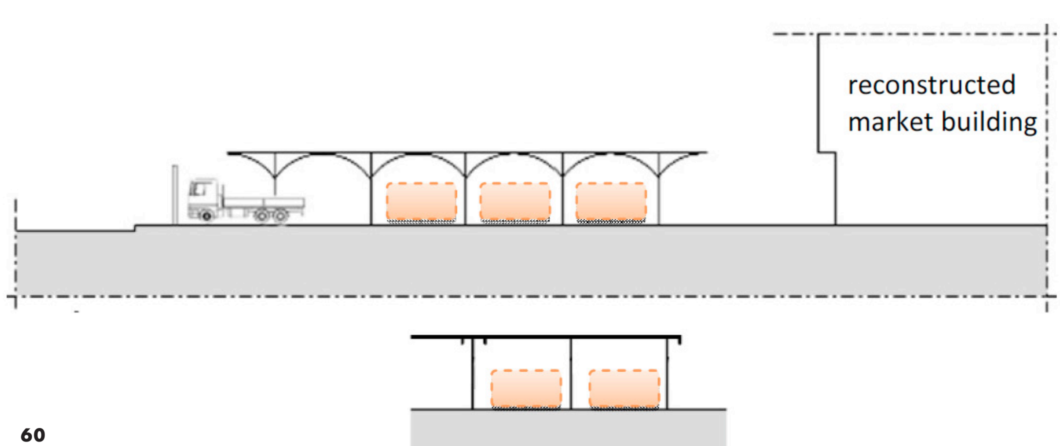

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creases for kiosks in reconstructed traditional markets (The Jakarta Post 2009b, The Jakarta Post 2009c, Wisnu 2009). As wholesalers, the PKS vendors are dependent on keeping the prices for their commodities lower than the average retail prices. Therefore, the PKS can only survive when prices can be kept low and the turnover of goods remains high. The possibility of sharing an indoor kiosk space with a trader who is selling in the daytime could be an option to save on rent costs. However, this solution is dependent on the ability to remove all commodities each time the vendor changes. Moreover, the dimensioning of adequate delivery access and indoor corridors space to properly provide for the continuous flow of commodities in a wholesale market could turn out to be a costly constraint.

In the case that the majority of PKS vendors would not agree to move to indoor selling places and would not be allowed to further use the outdoor parking areas, the PKS vendors would be forced to look for another location where 600 vendors could be accommodated. As the probability of finding such a location appears to be rather low, it is reasonable to predict that the vendors would be forced to distribute themselves to other informal markets where they would likely be affected by a decrease of sales, as it is uncertain whether their regular customers will follow them to scattered locations.

It is clear that the spatial concentration of PKS wholesalers and a low-cost location with a long-term land use right is of vital importance for the survival and consolidation of the PKS entrepreneurs.

- **Final consideration and outlook**

The analysis of the wholesale cake market and of determinants for the consolidation of informal vendors indicated that a rash classification of the PKS market as 'informal' does not meet the complexity of the urban phenomenon. According to Altrock's approach to conceptualise informality (2012), the breakdown of the PKS stakeholders into their status and action/interaction revealed that formal and informal actors and objects interconnect in manifold ways. Despite the informal, non-binding, or temporary character of permissions and arrangements that are directing the land use and the positioning of the cake vendors, surprisingly, a hierarchy of spaces and the discrimination of specific vendor groups does not occur. The low share of female vendors does not simply suggest disadvantages caused by gender roles but highlights the need for further research going beyond the research focus on gender and the appropriation of 'informal' market space. It seems important that the wholesale feature of the PKS enterprises differs from petty street trading and that it requires more demanding infrastructural and operational inputs.

As the outcomes of this research are largely context-dependent, further case studies dealing with the relationship between informal markets and the inherent spatial arrangements should review and deepen the findings and particularly focus on the structuring principles of class and gender in addition to dependencies of power and historic conditions at the location of placing.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Universitas Trisakti · TU Darmstadt „Pasar Kue Subuh Senen" questionnaire (1)

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT DARMSTADT

Block	Interviewer No.	Vendor No.	Date
(enter the number directly)		(enter the number directly during the interview)	

Guidance for the interviewer:
In the questionnaire you will find two different ways to fill in responses:

Boxes: Here you can enter a number that is matching one of the given answer possibilities. .

Lines: Here you are asked to fill in the text of the answer. Please write in an easily readable manner!

Description of the project (to be read by the interviewer):

Good evening, I am sorry to interrupt. I work for an academic from Trisakti University, who is doing the research for her PhD, dealing with the preservation of the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen (cake market). For this reason, we need some information from vendors of the Pasar Kue Subuh. Would you be willing to help us and answer a couple of questions? It will take only 10 minutes.

Guarantee of secrecy: The given data will not be retraceable to your person in any way. All your answers will be summarized, ensuring that no one will be able to determine your identity based on the answers provided. All answers will only be used for the purpose of this study and will be treated confidently.

Instruction for the interviewer (not to be read): If the vendor refuses to be interviewed, the interviewer should explain again that the results of the research could be useful for the development of the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen. If the vendor keeps refusing, please follow the next steps: (1) mark the selling position in the map (question No. 3), (2) enter the estimated vendor's age (question No. 23.), (3) fill all the answers starting with question No. 29 by yourself, and finally thank the vendor politely.

1. When did you start selling at the Pasar Kue Subuh Senen?

[ ] Year

2. BHow long have you been selling...

	Years	Month
…at this spot?		
…in this block		

3. Position of the selling spot
(please mark in code **P** in the map)

	X	Y
P		

★

4. How many tables belong to your booth?
(please enter the number directly) [ ]

5. Where have you been selling before at this market?
Please let the interviewee point his/her previous 3 selling spot positions on the map, mark the code H on the map and fill in the duration

3 positions in the past, descending order, name the one last, which is the earliest

	Position X	Position Y	Duration Years	Duration Month
previous position (H1)				
before previous position (H2)				
earliest position (H3)				

★★

Universitas Trisakti · TU Darmstadt „Pasar Kue Subuh Senen" questionnaire 2

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT DARMSTADT

Block	Interviewer No.	Vendor No.	Date
(enter the number directly)		(enter the number directly during the interview)	

6. How much do you like this selling spot?
5= very good
4= good
3 ok
2= bad
1= very bad

7. Which spot would you prefer?
let the interviewee show you the spot in the map, mark code **W**

	X	Y
W		

8. How important are the following characteristics at your present location...

5= very important
4= important
3= ok
2= les important
1= not important

a) good illumination ....
b) proximity to vendors friends of yours ....
c) an adequate selling spot ....

9. How often did a problem/ trouble occur within the last month with ...
(0= not once)

a) other vendors ....
b) customers ....
c) thieves or thugs ....
d) administrationof the market ....
e) officials of city administration or police? ....

10. How often did you sell in the last seven days:
(0= not once, 7=every day)

a) sell at Pasar Kue Subuh Senen? ....
b) sell at home and by order? ....
c) sell at another market? ....
d) sell to shops? ....

Universitas Trisakti · TU Darmstadt „Pasar Kue Subuh Senen" questionnaire

3

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT DARMSTADT

Block	Interviewer No.	Vendor No.	Date

(enter the number directly) (enter the number directly during the interview)

11. Who basically directs your business/ company (main person)?
1 = me (interviewee)
2 = own family/ couple
3 = a women
4 = a man
5 = community

12. How many employees are working...
(please enter the number directly)

	women	men
a) overall in your business/ company		
b) at night as vendor or assistant at the market		
c) in the production of the commodities		

13. How many porters do you regularly employ per night?
(please enter the number directly, 0= none)

a) own porters

b) market's porters

14. Do you employ own security personnel?
(please enter the number directly, 0= none)

15. 15. How many types of cakes do you offer?
(please enter the number directly, 0= none)

	wet	dry
a) traditional types		
b) modern types		

16. Are you producing the commodities yourself?

1= yes, all
2= yes, partly
3= no

17. From how many suppliers do you get your commodities?
(please enter the number directly)

18. What is your average sales volume in a month?
(please enter the amount directly, if not,ask for estimations)

19. How large is the percentage of your regular customers?
(please enter the percentage directly) %

20. Please point the position of your two best friends among the vendors.
(please mark the positions in the map: F1, F2)

	X	Y
F1		
F2		

21. Please point the position of your two toughest competitors among the vendors?
(please mark the positions in the map: C1, C2)

	X	Y
C1		
C2		

Thank you so much!

Before we finish this interview, we have a few questions to your person:

22. What is yourfamily status?
1 = married
2 = single
3 = widowed
4 = divorced

23. How old are you?
(please enter the age directly;
if not stated by the interviewee, please estimate)

24. How many children do you have?
(please enter the number directly)

25. How many persons live in your home?
(please enter the number directly)

Universitas Trisakti · TU Darmstadt „Pasar Kue Subuh Senen" questionnaire 4

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT DARMSTADT

Block	Interviewer No.	Vendor No.	Date

(enter the number directly) (enter the number directly during the interview)

26. What is your highest educational degree?
1= Sekolah Dasar (SD)
2= Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP)
3= Sekolah Menengah Umum/Atas (SMU/SMA)

27. Did you get a professional training or an university degree?
1 = professional training
2 = university degree

28. Where do you live?
1 = Central Jakarta
2 = North Jakarta
3 = South Jakarta
4 = East Jakarta
5 = West Jakarta
6 = outside of Jakarta

Kecamatan: ______________________
(please enter the name of the kecamatan directly)

The following chapter should be filled in by the interviewers themselves!

29. Interviewee :
1 = female
2 = male

30. Equipment of selling booth:
1= with table
2 = without table

31. Presentation of goods
(should be filled in, if the interviewee has no table)
1 = on motorcycle
2 = only using boxes on the floor

32. 32. Equipment
(should be filled in, if the interviewee has no table)

a) special cake container ....

b) basket ....

c) plastic bag ....

d) paperboard box ....

(please enter the number directly, if uncountable, please estimate)

33. Area of commodity presentation

[ ] **m²**
(please enter the size directly)

Interviewer:

„We wish you all the best for your future and are grateful for your help."

Interviewer recheck: Did I already mark all positions in the map with the relevant code?
(recheck the questions signed by 1 to 5 stars)

★ **Position** (question 3): the current selling spot (code: P)
★★ **History** (question 5): up to 3 previous positions (code: H1, H2, H3)
★★★ **Preferred location** (question 7): preferred selling spot position (code: W)
★★★★ **Best Friends** (question 20): two best friends (code: F1, F2)
★★★★★ **Competitors** (question 21): two toughest competitors (code: C1, C2)